

them are satirical flytings (*naqā'id*) against the poet Anas b. Zunaym al-Kinānī (d. 60/680). Hāritha also composed some short elegies for Ziyād—one of which was praised by the classical scholar and belletrist al-Jāhiz (d. 255/868)—and for his brother Darā', who was killed during the Battle of the Camel or possibly later, in 38/658. Of special interest is Poem 16, which includes a unique, non-traditional description of the sadness and sorrowful glances of the lover during his stay in the deserted encampment (*aṭlāl*) of his beloved.

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ALI AHMAD HUSSEIN

Hazāras

The **Hazāras** are a principal component of the population of Afghanistan, constituting perhaps as much as one-fifth of the total population. They speak a Persian dialect with many Turkic and a few Mongolian words. They have traditionally

occupied the central part of the country, the mountainous region of Hazārajāt. Although some inhabitants of the eastern fringe are Sunnīs (Ghorband Valley) or Ismā'īlīs (Kayan, Shibar), most Hazāras, unlike the majority of the Afghan population, are Twelver Shī'īs, a fact that has contributed to their political and socioeconomic marginalisation.

The history of the Hazāras is marked by wars and forced displacements. Many Hazāras fled Hazārajāt at the end of the nineteenth century when 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the *amīr* of Kabul (r. 1880–1901), took control of the region; they settled in Quetta (then in British India, today in Pakistan) and around Mashhad (Iran). Driven by political exclusion and poverty, the Hazāras have migrated throughout the twentieth century. Many went to cities, especially to Kabul but also Mazar-i Sharif and Herat, while others travelled to Pakistan or Iran in search of employment. This trend increased dramatically after the communist coup of April 1978 and the Soviet intervention in 1979. In the early 2000s, thousands of Hazāras migrated still further, to Western Europe and Australia.

1. ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY

The origin of the Hazāras is uncertain and much debated by scholars (Bacon, Inquiry, and *Obok*; Ferdinand, Preliminary notes; Gawrecki, Hazara farmers; Mousavi; Poladi; Schurmann). The Hazāras themselves have three main theories: 1) they are of Mongolian or Turko-Mongolian descent; 2) they are autochthons, representing a population preceding the arrival of Indo-European speaking people (c. 2000–1500 B.C.E.); 3) they are a mixed race, resulting from several waves of migration.

Their name comes from the Persian word *hazār* (thousand) and may be a trans-

Handbook of Oriental Studies
Handbuch der Orientalistik

Section Eight
Central Asia

Edited by
Denis Sinor
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VOLUME 17

261025
Hazarlar (080996)

The World of the Khazars

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Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	261025
Tas. No:	301-452 INT-K

02 Temmuz 2018



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L'auteur tente d'éclairer le problème d'un mystérieux peuple, mentionné par Mas'udi, au service du *xâqân* des Xazars (au VII^e/I^{er} siècle). Il fait une courte présentation des différentes opinions partagées par les chercheurs, allant de la transcription du nom de ce peuple jusqu'à son identification. Tout en acceptant l'hypothèse de Minorsky qui identifie ce peuple comme étant les Aorses cités par les auteurs classiques, le Professeur Lewicki rejette la transcription de son nom telle qu'elle est transmise par Mas'udi (*Arsiya ou *Arisiya, au lieu de *Orsiya qui serait la forme correcte).

A l'origine, les *Orsiya parlaient une langue iranienne et vivaient en Chorasmie. Après l'apparition de l'Islam, une de leurs branches avait émigré vers le pays des Xazars, tandis que le groupe resté en Chorasmie avait progressivement perdu son identité iranienne sous l'influence turque (XI-XII/V-VI ss.). L'auteur identifie cette branche des *Orsiya chorasmiens avec une des tribus Qepçâq, al-'Ors (al-Ars).

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قاهره، مكتبة الثقافة الدينية؛ واقدی، محمد، *فتوح الشام*، بيروت، دار الجليل؛ همو، *المغازی*، به كوشش مارسدن چونز، بيروت، مؤسسة الاعلمی؛ همدانی، حسن، *صفة جزيرة العرب*، به كوشش محمد بن علی اكوج، صنعاء، ۱۴۰۳ ق/ ۱۹۸۳ م؛ یاقوت، *بلدان*؛ یعقوبی، احمد، *البلدان*، بيروت، ۱۴۲۲ ق؛ همو، *تاریخ*، بيروت، دار صادر؛ نیز: EI².

عتایت الله فاتحی نژاد

خَزَّانَه، نك: بیت المال.
خَزَّانَةُ الْحِكْمَةِ، نك: بیت الحکمه.
خَزْر، دَزیَا، نك: مازندران، دریا.

خَزْر، قوم، نام مردمانی وابسته به گروه نژادی آلتایی که از حدود سده ۶ تا ۱۰ م (۴ ق)، بر دشتهای میان نواحی پایین دست رودخانه ولگا تا کرانه های شرقی دریای سیاه و نواحی شمال قفقاز فرمانروایی داشتند.

در باره اصل و نسب خزران و معنای نام آنان و نیز اینکه نخستین بار، این نام از چه زمانی وارد تاریخ شده است، میان تاریخ دانان و زبان شناسان اتفاق نظر وجود ندارد. برخی این نام را برگرفته از واژه ترکی قَز / گَز، از ریشه گَرَمک می دانند، که در آن زبان، به معنای گردش کردن، گردیدن، و کنایه از آوارگی و خانه به دوشی است (نک: بارتولد، «خزران»، ۳۳۹؛ دانلپ، 3؛ ردهاوس، 398). اما برخی دیگر با توجه به آنکه در شماری از زبانهای که گویشوران آنها، مردمانی در رفت و آمد با خزرها بوده اند، واژگانی گوناگون برای نامیدن این قوم وجود دارد که در هجای نخست آنها، مصوت «ا» (O) به کار رفته است، اشتقاقهای دیگری نیز برای این نام ارائه کرده اند؛ برای نمونه، در زبان عبری، خزرها را معمولاً کوزاری، و در زبان یونانی، خَزْرُوی و گاهی خوتزر می خوانده اند؛ از این رو، این دسته از پژوهشگران نام خزر را برگرفته از دو واژه ترکی «قَز» به معنای بر شمالی کوه، و «آر» به معنای مرد / مردم دانسته، و آن را مردم شمالی معنا کرده و در تأیید نظر خود آورده اند که ارمنیان و گرجیان خاقان خزر را پادشاه شمال، و سرزمین خزرها را سرزمین شمال می خوانده اند که در نظر آنان می تواند ترجمه لفظ به لفظ معنای نام خزر در زبانهای ارمنی و گرجی باشد (دانلپ، 4-3؛ برای آگاهی بیشتر از معنای واژگان «آر» و «قَز» در زبان ترکی، نک: کاشغری، ۹۴، ۷۹۸).

اما با توجه به آنکه از زبان خزرها آگاهی چندانی در دست نیست و جز اندک واژگان چیزی از آن برجا نمانده است، معنای ارائه شده که جملگی بر تطبیق تشابه لفظی این نام با برخی واژگان ترکی مبتنی است، گمانی بیش نیست. زبان شناسان با تطبیق اندک واژگان به جا مانده از زبان خزران با زبانهای هم ریشه با زبان ترکی دریافته اند که خزران به زبانی وابسته به این خانواده زبانی سخن می گفته اند؛ برای نمونه می دانیم که خزران، رودخانه ولگا

بسیاری از آنان را کشتند، عمرو بن سالم خزاعی خبر آن را در مدینه به پیامبر (ص) رساند و به گفته برخی از منابع، این واقعه پیامبر (ص) و مسلمانان را برای فتح مکه مصمم تر ساخت (ابن هشام، ۳۷۴، ۳۶؛ واقدی، همان، ۷۴۹/۲، ۷۸۳؛ ابن عسیر، ۲۴۴/۵-۲۴۵). پس از وفات پیامبر (ص)، گروهی از خزاعه در ۱۱ ق به رهبری جندب بن سلمی در تهمامه به جمع مرتدان پیوستند و خالد بن اسید بر آنان تاخت و گروهی از آنان را به قتل رساند (طبری، ۲۹۴/۲).

به گزارش منابع، در روزگار خلافت علی بن ابی طالب (ع) گروهی از خزاعه در خدمت آن حضرت بودند و در ۳۶ ق در جنگ صفین با سپاهیان معاویه جنگیدند (همو، ۸۴/۳).

با آغاز فتوحات اسلامی، تیره های مختلف خزاعه به صف سپاهیان اسلام پیوستند و در فتح شام، مصر، ایران، و بعدها اندلس آنان را یاری فراوان کردند و سپس بسیاری از ایشان به همراه خانواده های خود در مناطق فتح شده مستقر شدند (واقدی، *فتوح* ...، ۲۷۴/۱، ۲۷۵؛ یعقوبی، *البلدان*، ۴۵؛ طبری، ۶۶/۴، ۳۰۶؛ جم؛ EI²). خزاعه در قیام ابومسلم در خراسان هم نقش عمده داشتند و بسیاری از آنان به دعوت وی گردن نهادند؛ در آن میان، سلیمان ابن کثیر خزاعی، مالک بن هیشم و طلحة بن رزیک خزاعی از همه مشهورترند (نک: طبری، ۶۶/۴). همچنین در ۱۲۹ ق، گروههایی از خزاعه و تمیم به ابومسلم پیوستند و او یکی از منزلگاههای خزاعه به نام سفیدنج یا سفیدج در خراسان را مرکز فعالیت و پایگاه خود قرار داد و یک سال بعد، چون شمار آنان به حدود ۱۰ هزار نفر رسید، دعوت خویش آشکار کرد (همو، ۳۰۶/۴-۳۰۷/۴؛ اخبار ...، ۲۷۴، ۲۷۶، ۲۸۱).

تیره هایی از قبیله خزاعه علاوه بر خراسان در نواحی مرکزی ایران، از جمله قم و کاشان نیز منزلگاه داشته اند (یعقوبی، همان، ۴۴-۴۵).

مأخذ: ابن اثیر، علی، *الکامل*، بيروت، ۱۳۹۹ ق/ ۱۹۷۹ م؛ ابن حبيب، محمد، *المحیر*، به كوشش ایلزه لیشتن اشتر، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۶۱ ق/ ۱۹۴۲ م؛ ابن حجر عسقلانی، احمد، *الاصابة*، به كوشش علی محمد بجاوی، بيروت، ۱۴۱۲ ق/ ۱۹۹۲ م؛ ابن خلدون، *العیر*، به كوشش خلیل شجاده، بيروت، ۱۴۱۷ ق/ ۱۹۹۶ م؛ ابن درید، محمد، *الاشتقاق*، به كوشش عبدالسلام محمد هارون، بغداد، ۱۳۹۹ ق/ ۱۹۷۹ م؛ ابن رسول، عمر، *طرقه الاصحاح فی معرفة الانساب*، به كوشش سترستن، بيروت، ۱۴۱۲ ق/ ۱۹۹۲ م؛ ابن عسیر، احمد، *البلد القریة*، بيروت، ۱۴۱۷ ق/ ۱۹۹۶ م؛ ابن منظور، *لسان*؛ ابن هشام، عبدالملک، *السيرة النبوية*، به كوشش مصطفى سقا و دیگران، قاهره، ۱۳۵۵ ق/ ۱۹۳۶ م؛ *اخبار الدولة العباسية*، به كوشش عبدالعزیز دوری و عبدالجبار مطلبی، بيروت، ۱۹۷۱ م؛ ازرقی، محمد، *اخبار مكة*، به كوشش رشدی صالح، بيروت، ۱۴۰۳ ق/ ۱۹۸۳ م؛ بلاذری، احمد، *انساب الاشراف*، به كوشش محمد حمیدالله، قاهره، دارالمعارف؛ همو، *فتوح البلدان*، به كوشش عبدالله انیس طیب، بيروت، مؤسسة المعارف؛ حمزه، قواد، *قلب جزيرة العرب*، ریاض، ۱۳۸۸ ق/ ۱۹۶۸ م؛ طبری، *تاریخ*، بيروت، ۱۴۰۷ ق/ ۱۹۸۷ م؛ علی، جواد، *المفصل فی تاریخ العرب قبل الاسلام*، بيروت، ۱۹۶۹ م؛ کلی، هشام، *نسب معذ و الیمن الکبیر*، به كوشش محمود فردوس عظم، دمشق، دار الیظنة العربیة؛ مقدسی، مطهر، *البدا و التاریخ*،

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HATİCEP ERDEMİR / SAMİPATAÇI / AKIN BİNGÖL / MİR FATHİ
ZEKİYEV / İLHAMİ DURMUŞ / ABDÜLHALUK M. ÇAY / KAMIL
LEVENT ZORÖĞLÜ / ZEKİYE TUNÇ / UMUT ÜREN / YUSUF
GEDİKLİ / OSMAN KARATAY / MUSTAFA ALICAN / YASAR
BEDİRHAN / SAĞAS EĞİLMEZ / ALİ ERTUĞRUL / MEHMET
ERŞAN / HÜSEYİN KAYHAN / HASAN OKTAY / MUAMMER GÜL /
ALEKSANDR ŞAYDATOVİÇ / KADIR BAYEV / SİRİNBEY ALİYEV /
OKTAY BERBER / MUSTAFA KAFALI / ULİ ŞAMİL OĞLU / İLYAS
KEMAL OĞLU / A. MELEK ÖZYETGİN / SEVİNÇ RAHİMOVA /
İSMAİL AKAY / İLHAN ERDEM / MUSTAFA UYAR / SÜLEYMAN
MEMMEDOV / KAZIM PAYDAŞ / SEYFETTİN ERŞAHİN / HAMZA
GÜNDOĞDU / OKTAY EFENDİYEV / MUHSİN MACİT / ZİVER
HÜSEYNLİ / MEHMET ALİ ÇARMAK / ELMİRA MEMMEDOVA /
MERZİYE İSKENDEROVA / HÜSAMETTİN MEMMEDOV /
ELĐAR ELHAN OĞLU İSMAİL OV / SAĐDE HACĐEVA / RAKİP
HÜSEYNOĞLU İBADOV / TOFİQ TEYFUBOĞLU MUSTAFAZADE
İRADÉ MEMMEDOVA / AYNUR EMENOVA / RUHENGİZ A.
SULTANOVA / GOVHER N. MEMMEDOVA

Bu dergi Yeni Türkiye Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi tarafından yayınlanmaktadır.



Kafkaslarda Göktürk ve Hazarlar

(6073059) 686 Miller
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Osman Karatay*

21 Subat 2016

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

214 630 yılı sonrasında 966 yılına kadar Kafkasların kuzeyindeki sahanın ve uzantılarının hâkimini bir devlet yapısı oluşturmuş Hazarların köklerini siyasi ve etnik olarak iki ayrı başlıkta incelemek gerekir. Siyasi kökler ve hanedan kuşkusuz Göktürk mülküne uzanır. Bu bölge Batı Göktürk kağanlığının bir nevi batı uçbeyliği olarak teşkilatlanmıştı ve özellikle 620'lerde kazandığı önemden ötürü kağanın oğlu tarafından yönetiliyordu. 630 senesinde çıkan isyanda Kağan T'ung Yabgu kardeşi tarafından öldürülünce, o sırada Kafkasların güneyinde olan şad unvanlı oğlu amcasını tanımayarak bulunduğu bölgede hâkimiyetini sürdürdü. Kısa süre sonra Batı Göktürk devletinin tamamen ortadan kalkmasıyla da bu uçbeyliği açısından kağanlık makamı noktasında hiçbir sorun kalmadı ve şad 640'lar civarında kendi kağanlığını ilan etti. Böylece, Hazar kağanları ve dolayısıyla siyasi teşkilatı Göktürk devletinden inmektedir.

Etnik kökleri ise belirlemek kolay değildir. Hazar kelimesinin Çince yazılışyla (K'osa) aynı yazılan Güney Sibirya kuşandaki T'ehle birliğinden bir Türk boyu, T'ehle'nin bir alt yapılanması olan Uygur

birliği içinde yer almış gözükmektedir. Bu Hazarların Uygur veya Uygurların Hazar olduğu anlamına gelmiyor. Hazar adını taşıyan topluluktan bir parça, sonraki Uygur kavmini meydana getiren birliğe dâhil olmuş gözüküyor. Aynı şekilde, Güneybatı Sibirya'nın Gök-türk öncesi dönemdeki en önemli siyasi yapılanması olan Suvar/Sabir boy birliğinin de Hazar unsurlarını içerdiğini düşünebiliriz ki, Kafkasların kuzeyine bir Hazar göçünü bilmiyoruz, buna karşılık Suvar topluluğunun içinden Hazar boyu çıkmış gözüküyor.

Bu hadiseyi kısaca şöyle izah edebiliriz: Ptolemeus'a göre Milat'tan hemen sonra Orta İdil'in doğusundaki sahada yaşadıkları anlaşılan Suvarlar adlı Türk boyundan bir kol, 5. yy sonlarına doğru Kafkasların kuzeyine gelmiştir. Bunları 6. yy'ın ilk yarısı boyunca İran-Bizans savaşlarında ücretle göre davranan paralı askerler olarak görüyoruz. Bizans kaynaklarında geçen 100 bir asker çıkarabildikleri haberi abartı içerebilir ama ağaçtan yapılmış kuşatma makineleri konusundaki teknik bilgileri İranlı ve Bizanslıları şaşırtmaktaydı. Bu onların kuru bozkır bölgesinden değil de, ormanlık Güneybatı Sibirya'dan gelme bir halk olduklarının delili olarak görülebilir. Bu durum 558 yılına kadar sürmüş, Göktürklerden kaçan Avarlar Kafkasların kuzeyine geldiklerinde buradaki diğer kavimlerle birlikte Suvarları da yükündürmüşlerdir. Avarların bu bölgede tutunamayıp daha batıya gitmelerinin ardından Suvarların bağımsız kaldıklarını düşünmek zor, zira Göktürk hâkimiyeti 560'lar içinde Kafkasların kuzeyini tamamen kaplamış, Karadeniz kıyılarına ulaşmıştır.

Göktürklerin İstemi Kağan zamanında (552-576) Kafkas hâkimiyetine çok önem verdiklerini tahmin ediyoruz. Ancak dikkatleri çok zamanlarda Avarlar sebebiyle batıya çevrili olduğundan, Güney Kafkaslara sarkmalarına dair verimiz bulunmuyor. Buna karşılık Bizans'ı tehdit amacıyla Kuban

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22 Haziran 2015

26 Ağustos 2015

D440



MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Coup d'état, Coronation and Conversion: Some

Reflections on the Adoption of Judaism

by the Khazar Khaganate¹

Ha 2arlar
080336

J. T. OLSSON

"The Turks will take control of Kūfa in southern Iraq and the Khazars the province of al-Jazīra in northern Iraq" runs a popular ḥadīth of the early 'Abbāsid Caliphate. The patently false attribution to the Prophet notwithstanding, this ḥadīth suggests that the Khazars, a militarised semi-nomadic Turkic people securely established in their Khaganate north of the Caucasus Mountains, loomed menacing and large in the imagination – and fears – of their settled neighbours. This is hardly a surprise. The Khazars, who had emerged as the hegemonic regional power after the fragmentation of the Gök Turk Empire, had grown rich as intermediaries in a north-south trading network, and from the tributes derived from their 25 subject peoples. They employed a centralised fiscal administration which allowed them to maintain a standing army of at least ten thousand, whose ranks could probably swell two-or-three-fold with the retinues of their notables and contributions from their subject tribes, and were ensconced within a network of fortifications that provided them with a degree of internal stability and potential for aggressive campaigning highly unusual within other steppe polities.²

Aside from the military threat provided by this most durable of steppe empires, which constituted the most powerful West Eurasian steppe power from the late seventh century to the mid tenth century, there were two peculiarities of the Khazar Khaganate that particularly attracted the interest – and occasional unease – of sedentary observers.³ First, Khazaria developed a unique diarchic system of governance in which the office of the Khagan, a

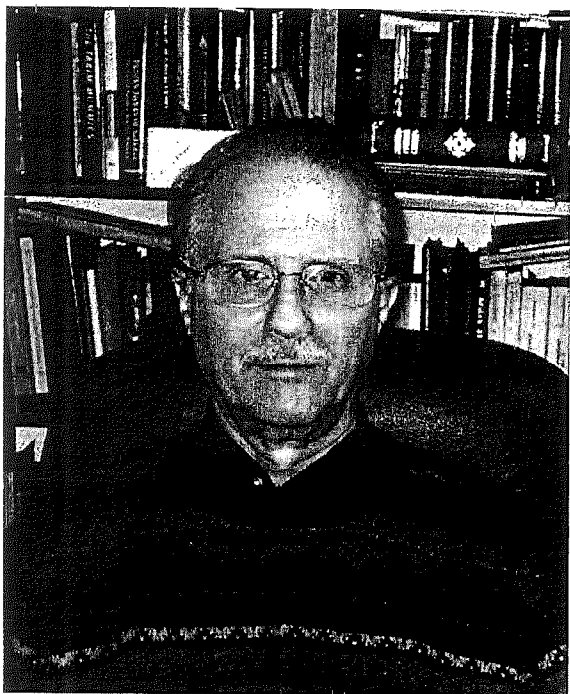
¹ The creation of this article owes a great debt above all to Dr Mark Whittow, who first introduced me to the Khazar Khaganate. I am also extremely grateful to Dr Roman Kovalev, Dr Peter Golden, and Dr Constantin Zuckerman for taking the time to reply to unsolicited queries. In particular, Dr Zuckerman was kind enough to send me a copy of an article of his that I was having difficulty procuring.

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Turks and Khazars

Origins, Institutions, and Interactions
in Pre-Mongol Eurasia

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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23 Mayıs 2015

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M. G.

رَسَالَةُ ابْنِ فَضْلَانَ

أَحْمَدُ بْنُ فَضْلَانَ بْنِ الْعَبَّاسِ بْنِ رَاشِدِ بْنِ حَمَّادٍ

في وصف الرحلة إلى بلاد الترك والخزر والروس والصقالية

سنة ٣٠٩ هـ - ٩٢١ م

محققاً رعل عليها وقدم لها

الدكتور سامي الدهاني

عضو مجمع السامي العربي بيش

٩٢١

٩٢١

الناشر

مكتبة الثقافة العالمية

بيروت

فأما ^(١) ملك الخزر ، واسمه ^(٢) خاقان ، فإنه لا يظهر إلا في كل [أربعة أشهر متزهاً] ^(٣) ، ويقال له خاقان الكبير ، ويقال لخليفته خاقان به ، وهو الذي يقود الجيوش ويسوسها ^(٤) ويدبر أمر المملكة ويقوم بها ويظهر وينزو . وله تدعن الملوك الذين يصاقبونه ^(٥) . ويدخل [في كل يوم إلى خاقان الأكبر متواضعاً يظهر الأخبات والسكينة ولا يدخل عليه إلا حافياً

(١) أولدت نسختنا ثلاثة سطور عن الخزر ، ثم بترت وخرمت أوراقها بعدها . وكنا ندرنا ان النفس فيها كان بمقدار ورقة أو ورقتين لعب . وعدنا الى ياقوت مادة الخزر ، فإذا به يثبت عن ابن فضلان ثلاث صفحات قال إنه نقلها من رسالته . ولكن التحقيق الطويل ساقنا إلى أن النصف الأول منها ليس لابن فضلان ، لأنه يقع في الاسطرى ٢٢٠ - ٢٢٤ ، وفي ابن حوقل ٣٨٩/٢ ظل ياقوت نقل عنها ، وأما النصف الثاني فلم نجده في هذين المصدرين ، وإنما انفرد به ياقوت ٤٣٨/٢ ، فأورد هذه السطور الثلاثة وتابع النقل عن ابن فضلان ، فأثبتنا ذلك كله على أنه لابن فضلان برواية ياقوت ، لأننا رأينا فيه نفس كاتبنا وألفاظه ولهذا ضمناه اليه وجمناه بين معقوفتين ، كما شرحنا الأمر في المقدمة على تفصيل ، وهكذا اتصلت سطور نسختنا بسطور ياقوت - وقد رأينا أخيراً بعد طبع هذه السطور أن وليدي فعل مثلاً فعلنا في طبعته .

(٢) في ياقوت : « وأما ملك الخزر فاسمه خاقان وأنه » - وفي الاسطرى ٢٢٤ : « فان عظيمهم يسمى خاقان خزر وهو أجل من ملك الخزر ، إلا أن ملك الخزر هو الذي يقيه ، وإذا أرادوا أن يقيموا هذا الخاقان جاءوا به فيخنفونه بحريرة ... الخ » والتفصيل فيه هام يحدد الرجوع اليه ، ويقول ان الخزر لا يشبهون الأتراك فهم سود الثعور .

(٣) نفس في نسختنا أخذناه عن ياقوت .

(٤) في نسختنا : « الجيوش ويسوس » - في ياقوت : « الجيش ويسوس » وهي أصح .

(٥) سابق : قارب ودنا - وفي الاسطرى ٢٢٤ : « فلا يراه أحد من الأتراك ومن يصاقبهم من أصناف الكفر الا انصرف ولم يقاتله تمطياً له » . وهنا تقف النسخة وتنتهي . ومن هنا نبدأ بالنقل عن ياقوت حرفياً اتقماً للنص ٤٣٨/٢ - ٤٣٩ ، فتجمله بين هاتين المعقوفتين . وقد ضل مثلنا المشرق الروسي فمات على الخزر وأتبعه بابن فضلان من هذا المكان - انظر طبعة كرفالنسكي ص ١٦٦ - ١٧١ وفعل قبله مثل هذا فروع حين طبع فصل الخزر عن ياقوت ، وقد رأينا أن وليدي فعل مثل ذلك .

EMEVLER DEVRİNDE HAZARLARLA YAPILAN MÜCADELELER

Mevlüt KOYUNCU *

İdil nehri boylarında Göktürk Devleti hakimiyetinin sona ermesi üzerine müstakil bir devlet olarak tarih sahnesinde görülen Hazarlar, İdil nehrinden Kırım adasına kadar olan bölgede VI. ve X. yüzyıl arasında hüküm sürmüş önemli bir Türk kavmidir. Hazarlar'ın bu bölgeye ne zaman gelip yerleştikleri hususunda kesin bir söz söylemek oldukça zordur. Ancak onların, Göktürkler'in batıdaki bir kolu olduğunu biliyoruz. Hazar Devleti'nin ilk hükümet merkezi Kafkaslar'ın kuzeyindeki Belencer şehri olmasına rağmen, müslümanlarla yapılan savaşlar yüzünden bu merkezin değişik şehirlere taşındığı görülmüştür.

İlk zamanlar Hazar Devleti sınırları içinde birden fazla dilin konuşulduğu, yazı dilinin de çeşitli olduğu tesbit edilmesine rağmen¹, konuşulan Hazar Türkçesi'nin, Türkçe'nin hangi gurubuna âit olduğu henüz kesinlik kazanmış değildir². Aynı zamanda bu bölgede bir din birliğinden de söz etmek mümkün olmamaktadır. Budizm, Manihaizm, Şamanizm, Musevilik, Hristiyanlık ve Müslümanlık, Hazarlar arasında çeşitli yollarla yayılma imkanı bulmuştur. Çeşitli dinlere mensup olan Hazarlar arasında adaletin adil bir şekilde icrâ edilebilmesi için, Putperest, Yahudi, Hristiyan ve Müslümanlardan oluşan 7 kişilik bir hakimler sınıfı oluşturulmuş, adli işler bu komisyon tarafından yürütülmüş³. Böylece insanlar arasında huzurun tesis edilmesine çalışılmıştır. Hazarlar'ın dili ve dinleri hakkında verilen bu kısa bilgiden sonra esas konumuza geçebiliriz.

Kısa zamanda gerek ticârî, gerekse askerî yönden kuvvetlenen ve komşu devletler arasında varlıklarını hissettiren Hazarlar, zaman zaman güneyden Sâsâniler ve Araplar'ın taarruzlarına uğramışlardır. Hazarlar, bu akınlara karşı koyabilmek için Bizans'la olan ilişkilerini iyi bir şekilde geliştirmek istemişlerdi. Bu da Bizans'ın işine yarıyordu. Çünkü Bizans bu ittifakla, Hazarlar'ın askerî gücünden istifade ederek Karadeniz'in kuzeyinden Bizans'a gelebilecek bir tehlikeyi önlemiş oluyordu. Bu ilişkiyi daha da ilerletebilmek düşüncesiyle Bizans imparatoru II. Justinianus 703 yılında Hazar Hâkanı'nın kız kardeşiyle, Kostantin V. ise 731 de Hâkan'ın kızıyla evlenmişlerdi⁴.

Emeviler devrinde Hazarlar'la yapılan ciddi savaşlar halife Velid b. Abdülmelik'in hilafeti devrinde 86-95/705-715 başlayıp, Hişâm b. Abdülmelik'in halifeliği zamanında, valisi Mervân b. Muhammed'in 737 yılında Hazarlar'a karşı kesin galibiyetine kadar devam ertmiştir.

Velid b. Abdülmelik'in halifeliği zamanında, kardeşi Mesleme b. Abdülmelik'in 89/708 yılında Hazarlar'a karşı sefere çıktığını Derbend (Babül-Ebvâb veya el-Bâb)⁵ kadar ilerlediğini, yolda bazı kale ve şehirler fethettiğini Taberî ve İbnü'l-Esîr çok kısa vermesine rağmen⁶, İbn A'sem bu konuya geniş yer ayırmıştır. İbn A'sem'e göre; Ermeniyeye valisi Muhammed b. Mervân, yeğeni Mesleme b. Abdülmelik'i ordu komutanı tayin ederek Hazarlar'a karşı sefere çıkmasını emretti. Mesleme, el-Bâb-ı muhasara etti. 80 binin üzerinde askere sahip olan Hazarlar, önce şehri iyi bir şekilde savunmalarına rağmen müslüman

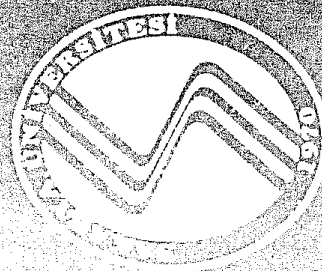
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KHAZAR STUDIES

An Historico-Philological Inquiry into
the Origins of the Khazars

PETER B. GOLDEN

VOLUME 1

Türkiye Diyanet İşleri İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kurumu	
Kayıt No. :	12493-1
Tasnif No. :	956.035 606.12



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ · BUDAPEST 1980

DİA kopyası getirildi
R. Kuzgun

17 6 TEMMUZ 1993

Hazarlar

Türklerde Yahudilik ve Doğu Avrupa
Yahudilerinin Menşei Meselesi

HAZAR VE KARAY TÜRKLERİ

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi

Demirbaş No

17875

Tasnif No:

956.033
KUZ. H.

Doç. Dr. Şaban Kuzgun

Genişletilmiş İkinci Baskı
Ankara - 1993

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VOLUME 2

16 TEMMUZ 1993

Herzfelder

Türkiy - Diyanet İşleri İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
Kayıt No. :	12493-2
Tasnif No. :	626



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ · BUDAPEST 1980

THE Q'AZARS: THEIR HISTORY AND LANGUAGE AS
REFLECTED IN THE ISLAMIC, BYZANTINE, CAUCASIAN,
HEBREW AND OLD RUSSIAN SOURCES

Peter Benjamin GOLDEN, Ph.D.
Columbia University, 1970

From the fourth century A.D. with the advent of the Huns
to the thirteenth century with the coming of the Mongols, the

Ponto-Caspian steppelands were the setting for a series of
invasions by nomadic peoples. In kaleidoscope fashion, waves
of Altaic horsemen (Huns, Oghur Turks, Bulgars, Savirs,
Avars, Kōk Turks, Q'azars, Pechenegs, Qumans, Oghuz and
finally the Mongols) succeeded one another as master of these
lands. Only two of these large tribal confederations, however,
attained any kind of durable statehood: the Q'azar Qaghanate
and the Mongolo-Qipchaq Golden Horde. The parallels between
the two are striking. Both had their capitals in the lower Volga
delta where they could control the East-West trade. Both were
large, multi-national states which brought relative order and
stability to the steppelands. Both survived for approximately
300 years before succumbing to the emerging (or re-emerging)
Russian state as well as the centrifugal tendencies of their
component parts. The Q'azars, like the Kōk Turks before
them (and later the Mongols), contrary to the popular concep-
tion of the nomad as a mere mounted marauder interested in
booty, deeply appreciated the significance of trade (from which
the Qaghans were able to enrich themselves) and established
a pax Q'azarica in the Ponto-Caspian steppelands to ensure its
free flow.

The Q'azars played a significant role in the history of
Kievan Rus', Judaism in Rus', Hungarian Proto-history, Byzan-
tium, the Caucasus and the lands of Islam. Consequently, we
have important source materials in the languages of the areas
concerned. The works of D. M. Dunlop and M. I. Artamonov
have already reconstructed the basic outlines of Q'azar history.
Thus, only a brief sketch of Q'azar history was given here.
The purpose of the present work was to focus on the question
of the ethnic affiliations of the Q'azars by first placing them
within the context of Altaic steppe history and then examining
the remnants of their language (as reflected in the sources -
we possess no Q'azar texts) and comparing their institutions
with those of the Altaic world.

The milieu from which the Q'azars sprang was Turkic.
Q'azar institutions clearly parallel those of the Kōk Turks.
The remnants of the Q'azar language (some 56 words culled
from contemporary Islamic, Hebrew, Byzantine, Armenian,
Georgian and Old Russian sources) were examined in the manu-
scripts in which they are found to ensure correct readings.
These words consist of tribal names, titles, personal names,
topo- and hydronyms and one word designating a kind of war
chariot. The overwhelming bulk of these words are Common
Turkic (the titulature, in particular, is virtually identical with
that of the Kōk Turks) with a sprinkling of Iranian (Q'azar con-
tacts with the Iranian world, particularly Khwarizm were very
close). A number of words are unidentifiable because of cor-
ruptions in the manuscripts or (in the case of North Caucasian
toponyms) because they probably reflect substratal elements.
Only one word may be identified as Oghuric (or Bulghar)
Turkic (Sarkel-Sharkil?), but even here we are not compelled
to do so.

The Q'azar dynasty appears to be of Ashina (Kōk Turkic)
origin. This is significant as it explains the origin of the
Q'azar Qaghanate. At this time in the Turkic world only mem-
bers of the Ashina or their rival house, the Dulo, could bear
the title Qaghan.

Order No. 73-8948, 730 pages.

1991
EKIM
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İdil nehri boylarında Göktürk Devleti hakimiyetinin sona ermesi üzerine müstakil bir devlet olarak tarih sahnesinde görülen Hazarlar, İdil nehrinden Kırım adasına kadar olan bölgede VI. ve X. yüzyıl arasında lüküm sürmüş önemli bir Türk kavimidir. Hazarlar'ın bu bölgeye ne zaman gelip yerleştikleri hususunda kesin bir söz söylemek oldukça zordur. Ancak onların, Göktürkler'in batıdaki bir kolu olduğunu biliyoruz. Hazar Devleti'nin ilk hükümet merkezi Kafkaslar'ın kuzeyindeki Belencer şehri olmasına rağmen, müslümanlarla yapılan savaşlar yüzünden bu merkezin değişik şehirlere taşındığı görülmüştür¹.

İlk zamanlar Hazar Devleti sınırları içinde birden fazla dilin konuşulduğu, yazı dilinin de çeşitli olduğu tesbit edilmesine rağmen², konuşulan Hazar Türkçesi'nin, Türkçe'nin hangi gurubuna âit olduğu henüz kesinlik kazanmış değildir³. Aynı zamanda bu bölgede bir din birliğinden de söz etmek mümkün olmamaktadır. Budizm, Manihaizm, Şamanizm, Musevilik, Hristiyanlık ve Müslümanlık, Hazarlar arasında çeşitli yollarla yayılma imkanı bulmuştur. Çeşitli dinlere mensup olan Hazarlar arasında adâletin âdil bir şekilde icrâ edilebilmesi için. Putperest, Yahudi, Hristiyan ve Müslümanlardan oluşan 7 kişilik bir hakimler sınıfı oluşturulmuş, adli işler bu komisyon tarafından yürütülmüş⁴. Böylece insanlar arasında huzurun tesis edilmesine çalışılmıştır. Hazarlar'ın dili ve dinleri hakkında verilen bu kısa bilgiden sonra esas konumuza geçebiliriz.

Kısa zamanda gerek ticarî, gerekse askerî yönden kuvvetlenen ve komşu devletler arasında varlıklarını hissettiren Hazarlar, zaman zaman güneyden Sâsâniler ve Araplar'ın taarruzlarına uğramışlardır. Hazarlar, bu akınlara karşı koyabilmek için Bizans'la olan ilişkilerini iyi bir şekilde geliştirmek istemişlerdi. Bu da Bizans'ın işine yarıyordu. Çünkü Bizans bu ittifakla, Hazarlar'ın askerî gücünden istifade ederek Karadeniz'in kuzeyinden Bizans'a gelebilecek bir tehlikeyi önlemiş oluyordu. Bu ilişkiyi daha da ilerletebilmek düşüncesiyle Bizans imparatoru II. Justinianus 703 yılında Hazar Hâkan'ının kız kardeşiyle, Kostantin V. ise 731 de Hâkan'ın kızıyla evlenmişlerdi⁵.

Emeviler devrinde Hazarlar' la yapılan ciddi savaşlar halife Velid b. Abdülmelik'in hilafeti devrinde 86-95/705-715 başlayıp, Hişâm b. Abdülmelik'in halifeliği zamanında, valisi Mervân b. Muhammed'in 737 yılında Hazarlar'a karşı kesin galibiyetine kadar devam ertmiştir.

Velid b. Abdülmelik'in halifeliği zamanında, kardeşi Mesleme b. Abdülmelik'in 89/708 yılında Hazarlar'a karşı sefere çıktığını Derbend (Babü'l-Ebvâb veya el-Bâb)'e⁶ kadar ilerlediğini, yolda bazı kale ve şehirler fethettiğini Taberi ve İbnü'l-Esir çok kısa vermesine rağmen⁷, İbn A'sem bu konuya geniş yer ayırmıştır. İbn A'sem'e göre; Ermeniyeye valisi Muhammed b. Mervân, yeğeni Mesleme b. Abdülmelik'i ordu komutanı tayin ederek Hazarlar'a karşı sefere çıkmasını emretti. Mesleme, el- Bâb-ı muhasara etti. 80 binin üzerinde askere sahip olan Hazarlar, önce şehri iyi bir şekilde savunmalarına rağmen müslüman

kuvvetlerin şehre girmesine engel olamadılar. Mesleme, yapılan savaşta çok sayıda esir ve ganimet elde ederek Ermeniyeye'de ikâmet eden Mervân'ın yanına döndü⁸.

Halife Velid, 91/710 yılında Muhammed b. Mervân'ı valilikten azl ederek, onun yerine askerî sahada üstün başarılarıyla bilinen kardeşi Mesleme'yi tayin etti. Mesleme vali olur olmaz, Hazarlar üzerine büyük bir orduyla yürüdü. Yolda bazı kale ve şehirleri fethederek Derbend'e kadar ilerledi. Bölge halkını itaat altına aldıktan sonra askerî gücünü yeniden tahkim eden Mesleme şehirde, zamanın en etkin silahı olan mancınıklar kurdukmakla çevreden gelebilecek tehlikelere karşı şehri korumuş oluyordu⁹.

Bundan sonra Araplar'la Hazarlar arasında yapılan savaşlar uzun bir süre durmuştu. Ancak Kostantiniyye'nin feth edileceğine kesin gözüyle bakan halife Süleyman b. Abdülmelik, 98/716-717 yılında kardeşi Mesleme'yi büyük bir ordunun başında Bizans'a karşı sefere göndermesiyle¹⁰, bölgede meydana gelen otorite boşluğundan istifade etmek isteyen Hazarlar, Ömer b. Adülaziz'in halifeliği zamanında, 99/717-718 yılında tekrar Araplar'a karşı hücumu geçtiler. Azerbaycan dolaylarında çok sayıda insanı öldürdüler ve pek çok esir ve ganimet elde ettiler. Durumdan haberdar olan Ömer b. Abdülaziz, derhal Hâtim b. Nu'mân el-Bâhili komutasında bir orduyu Hazar ülkesine gönderdi. Hâtim, Hazarlar'ı büyük bir mağlubiyete uğratarak 50 kadar esir ve bol miktarda ganimet elde etti. Hatta elde edilen esirleri halifeye gönderdi¹¹. Bunların, müslümanların eline geçen ilk Hazar esirleri olduğu kabul edilmektedir¹².

Ömer b. Abdülaziz'in komutanı Hâtim, Hazarlar'a karşı kesin galibiyet elde etmesine rağmen, üzerlerine gümek istememiştir. Çünkü zamanın halifesi Ömer b. Abdülaziz, savaşı pek tasvip etmeyen, İslâmiyet'i savaş yoluyla değil, barış ve adâletin icrâ edilmesiyle yaymayı gaye edinen bir kimsedir. Nitekim onun zamanında kılıçların kınlarında kaldığı görülmüştür. Hâtim'in bu ülkeye gönderilmesi ise, bölgede fetihler yapmak değil, bilakis onlara bir gözdağı vermekten ibarettir.

Diğer taraftan Hazarlar, bu mağlubiyetten sonra müslümanlara karşı saldırıya geçmeyi bir müddet durdurmuşlardır. Belki de onlar, zaman kazanarak askerî güçlerini yeniden kuvvetlendirmek istemişlerdir. Nitekim Hazarlar, bir kaç sene sonra 103/721-722 yılında halife Yezid b. Abdülmelik zamanında, yeniden müslümanlar üzerine saldırıya geçtiklerini İslâm kaynakları fazla tafsilata girmeden kısa olarak vermişlerdir¹³.

Halife Yezid b. Abdülmelik devrinde en çetin mücadelelerin Hazar cephesinde ceryan ettiğini görüyoruz. Yezid, 104/722 de Subeyt el- Nehrâni komutasında Şam ve el-Cezire'li askerlerden oluşan bir orduyu Hazar akınlara karşılık vermek üzere yola çıkardı. Durumdan haberdar olan Hazarlar, çevredeki Türk boylarından çok sayıda yardımcı kuvvetler toplayarak müslümanları " Merc-i Hicâre"¹⁴ denilen geniş bir arazide karşıladılar. Yapılan savaşta Hazarlar galip gelerek, pek çok ganimet elde ettiler. Çok sayıda kayıp veren Subeyt en- Nehrâni, halife Yezid'in yanına döndü. Mağlubiyete son derece üzülen halife, Nehrâni'yi sert bir dille azarladı. Nehrâni ise ellerinden geleni yaptıklarını fakat yenilmekten kurtulamadıklarını ifade etti¹⁵.

28 HAZİRAN 1993

HAZARLAR ARASINDA MÜSLÜMANLIĞIN YAYILMASI

HAKKI DURSUN YILDIZ

Türkler'in müslümanlığı kabulü yalnız Türk tarihi bakımından değil, İslâm ve dünya tarihi bakımından da büyük bir önem taşımaktadır. X. yüzyılın ortalarında Türkistan'dan Avrupa içlerine kadar uzanan geniş coğrafi sahada yaşayan Türkler, pek az istisnası ile İslâm dinini kabul etmişler ve kısa zamanda bu din onların milli dinleri haline gelmiştir. Müslümanlığı kabul etmeyen Türk boyları ise benliklerini kaybetmeğe mahkum olmuşlardır. Türk devletleri arasında islâmiyeti ilk defa Volga Bulgarları resmen kabul etmişler ve bunu diğerleri takip etmiştir. Bu tebliğimizde müslümanlığın Hazarlar arasında yayılmasını ortaya koymağa çalışacağız.

İslâm dünyası ile Hazarlar arasında VII. yüzyılın ortalarında başlayan askerî münasebetleri daha sonraki asırlarda siyasi ve ticarî münasebetler takip etmiş ve bu sayede Hazarlar İslâm dinini tanıma imkânını bulmuşlardır. Hazarlar arasında müslümanlığın yayılmasının açıklığa kavuşturulması için bu münasebetleri kısaca izah etmek gerekmektedir.

Halife Ömer zamanında Ermeniyeye ve Azerbaycan'ın fethini müteakip Hazarlar ile Müslümanlar arasında askerî mücadeleler başlamıştır. 22 (642-643) yılında başlayan ilk müslüman akınları 24 (644-645) ve 25 (645-646) yıllarında da devam etmiştir. Hazarlar'a karşı ilk ciddi teşebbüs 32 (652-653) yılında olmuş ve önemli şehirlerden Belencer'e karşı başarısızlıkla neticelenen bir akın yapılmıştır¹. Bu ilk akınlar iki taraf için de askerî bakımdan büyük bir önem taşımazlar.

Müslümanlar ile Hazarlar arasında şiddetli çarpışmalar Halife Velid zamanında (705-715) başlamıştır. Bu savaşlar 737 yılında Mer-vân b. Muhammed'in Hazarlar'a karşı kazandığı zafere kadar bütün şiddetiyle devam etmiştir. Bu mücadeleler sırasında iki taraftan birisi diğeri üzerinde kesin bir üstünlük kuramamıştır. Emevî orduları Der-

¹ D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1967, 47 vd. d., Michael Kimosko, *Araplar ve Hazarlar*, Türkiyat Mecmuası, III, İstanbul 1935, s. 133-155.

remained independent for some sixty years and established close ties with Constantinople; Kubrat himself even accepting baptism. Despite its auspicious beginning, Magna Bulgaria was subject to the well-known centrifugal forces common to nomadic states as well as steady pressure from external foes. The memory of this is accurately preserved in the ninth century accounts of Theophanes and Nikephoros Patriarkhos who relate the story of Kubrat's "five sons" and successors. According to this tale, they disregarded their paternal admonition "never to separate their place of dwelling from one another"¹⁶ and as a consequence the Bulghar union broke up. In reality, they were under tremendous pressure from the Khazars who were now the political successors of the Western Türks.

Some of the Bulghar tribes remained in or near their traditional territories. This was true of the hordes of *Batbaian* (or *Baian*) and *Kotragos*. They appear in our later sources as the "Black" or "Inner" Bulghars, subjects of the Khazars. Considerable numbers of Bulghars, however, were displaced and forced to abandon the south-Russian steppes entirely. Thus, Bulghar groupings migrated northwards, up the Volga, to the Volga-Kama region where they imposed themselves on the local Finno-Ugrian population (see Chapter 9), giving rise to the Volga or "Silver" Bulghar state. This important and subsequently Islamicized state (10th century) endured until the Mongol invasions, playing a significant role in the ethnogenetic history of the peoples of the Middle Volga.

One Bulghar grouping, under Asparukh, crossed over into the north-eastern Balkans, c. 679, conquered the local Slavic population and formed the Danubian Bulgar khanate. It maintained its Inner Asian language and culture for several centuries, although few monuments of this period have come down to us (cf. the remarkable Bulgharo-Slavic Prince-List¹⁷). By the late 9th century, in particular following the adoption of Eastern Christianity in 864, the Slavic language and culture of the majority of the country's inhabitants had become predominant.

Sizable Bulghar or Oghur elements were also present in the Avar state in Pannonia. As was noted above, some Kutrihur and other Oghur-Bulghar elements fled with the Avars in 567. Yet others came in the course of the 7th century in the wake of Khazar pressure. They played an active if not always successful role in the political life of the Avar kaghanate. Thus, c. 631-2, a Bulghar grouping in Pannonia was forced to flee to the West, ultimately

¹⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Carl de Boer (Leipzig, 1883, reprint: Hildesheim, 1963), 2 vols., 1, pp. 356-8; Nikephoros, ed. de Boer, pp. 33-4.

¹⁷ Omeljan Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, 1, Wiesbaden, 1955).

stopping in Bavaria where most were subsequently slaughtered. In 663, Bulghars led by Alzeco settled in Italy, coming, perhaps, from the Avar domain. In 685, Kuber, a high Bulghar official in the Avar kaghanate, entered the Balkans with his tribal followers and settled in Macedonia. Finally, in 803, Pannonian Bulghars in contact with Krum, the Danubian Bulghar khan, revolted against the tattered remnants of Avar power, ensuring thereby the certain demise of their onetime overlords.

The Khazars

The origins of the Khazar kaghanate, one of the most important political formations of medieval Eurasia, the dominant power in the south-Russian steppe zone, cannot be delineated with precise detail. The picture that emerges from the available data indicates an amalgam of tribes, Sabirs, Oghurs, Türks and others, organized and led by a Türk charismatic clan, perhaps the Ashina clan as the tenth century Persian geographical treatise, the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* would appear to suggest.¹⁸ The name *Khazar*, whatever its etymology, was first and foremost a political designation and only secondarily an ethnonym. Indeed, in the early stages of Khazar history, the Türk period (568-650), we are hard pressed to disentangle Khazar from Türk. Many of our sources use these names interchangeably. Indeed, there may have been no distinction. Prior to the advent of the Türks we cannot find an unimpeachable source indicating the presence of the Khazars in the area. Despite attempts to do so, they are not to be identified with the Acatziri as has been convincingly demonstrated by O. Maenchen-Helfen.¹⁹ If an actual Khazar people existed at this time, it must have been either a group of the Türks or a tribe closely associated with them. It is, of course, possible that in the welter of tribes produced by the Avar and Türk incursions, a new tribal union was formed. If so, its genesis has not been recorded in our sources. A "Khazar people" did, in time, emerge, in the post-Türk period, but it is impossible at this stage to see anything but their barest contours in the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual state that was the Khazar kaghanate.

Our notices on the Khazar language are both sparse and contradictory. Thus, al-İṣṭakhri, in one notice says it is like that of the Bulghars and in another remarks that it is distinct from any other human tongue.²⁰ The long-

¹⁸ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. V. Minorsky (Gibb Memorial Series, new series, 11, London, 1937, rev. ed., 1970), p. 162.

¹⁹ Otto Maenchen-Helfen, "Akatir," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 11 (1966).

²⁰ Al-İṣṭakhri, *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* ("Viae Regnorum"), ed. M.J. de Goeje (Bibliotheca Geographica Arabica, 1, Leiden, 1870), pp. 222, 225.

Edit. Denis Sinor. The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia, Cambridge 1992

Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları,
Yıl: XXV/2 (1987) Ankara

S. 91-104.

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DÖRT HALİFE DEVRİNDE ARAPLAR VE HAZARLAR

Dr. Hüseyin Ali DAKUKİ

Çeviren: Ar. Gör. M. Faruk TOPRAK

Hazar Devleti, VI. ve X. asırlar arasında Doğu Avrupa'nın siyâsî, askerî ve ticarî hayatında önemli rol oynayan güçlü devletlerden biriydi¹. Başkentleri İtil Şehri olup bugün Aşağı Volga Havzasında bulunan Astrahan Şehrinin kuzeyinde bulunuyordu. Büyük ticaret yollarının birleştiği bu bölgede Volga, Don, Yayık ve Kuban gibi büyük nehirler akmaktadır. Hazarların yayılma alanını incelediğimiz zaman VII. asırda, Azak Denizi'nden Kazvin Denizi'ne; Kafkasya'dan Volga ve Don nehirlerine uzanan bir imparatorlukları olduğunu görürüz². Dağlar, vadiler, denizler ve körfezler gibi güzel tabiat manzaraları ile dolu olan bu topraklar bir taraftan Ermenistan³ sınırına uzanan büyük bir dağla birleşirken diğer taraftan Harezm'e; güney sınırları ise Derbend (Bab ul-Ebvab)'e kadar uzanmaktaydı⁴.

Asılları hakkında çeşitli görüşler vardır. Çağdaş araştırmacıların büyük bir kısmı, Hazarların, Hun ve Fin-Ugur boylarıyla karışan batı Türkleri soyundan geldiği görüşündedirler⁵.

Araplarla Hazarlar arasında, birkaç asır süren ilişkiler olmuştur. İslâmî fetihler sayesinde İran'ın bütün bölgelerine yayılan ve karşılama çıkan bütün engelleri aşan Araplar, Kafkasya'nın sarp ve yüksek dağlarını da aşarak Hazarlarla büyük savaflara girmişlerdir.

1 Prof. İ. Kafesoğlu, Tarih Hazarat at-Türk, s. 146.

2 al-Himyarî, ar-Ravz al-Mictâr, Edisyon kritik: İhsan Abbas, s. 219.

3 Merit, Student Encyclopedia, C. I, s. 381.

4 Kudama, el-Harac, Edisyon kritik: Muhammed Huseyn az-Zubaydi, Bağdad 1981, s. 259.

5 bkz. Golden, Hazar mad. İslâm Ansiklopedisi (Yeni baskı) ve Barthold, Orta Asya Türk Tarihi, s. 65; Müsteşrik E. Kunik de bu görüşe katılmaktadır. Amerikan ansiklopedisi'nde de buna benzer görüşler vardır, C. 16, s. 391. Çağdaş araştırmacıların hemen hemen büyük bir kısmı ünlü Arap coğrafyacısı Mesûdî'nin at-Tanbih va'l-İşraf adlı eserindeki görüşlerini delil olarak kullanmışlardır.

برگزاری مراسم دینی، وجود مساجد و گفتن اذان است (۲۱۳/۱). اصطخری (ص ۲۲۰-۲۲۱) و ابن رسته (ص ۱۳۹) هر دو نوشته‌اند که شاه خزر، خاصان، امرا و بزرگان آن سرزمین همگی آیین یهود دارند. بنا به نوشته اصطخری بیشترین مسلمانان و بازرگانان در نیمه شرقی اتل می‌زیند و در شهر سمندر نیز گروهی مسلمانند و مسجدها دارند (ص ۲۲۲). ابن رسته نیز از وجود دو شهر در منطقه خزر یاد کرده است که مسلمانان آن دارای مساجد و ائمه جماعت و مؤذنانند (ص ۱۰۴).

ابوعبید بکری نیز به پذیرش آیین یهود از سوی پادشاه خزران در روزگار هارون الرشید اشاره کرده است. وی می‌نویسد: بیشتر سپاهیان خزر مسلمانند و در آنجا مسجد بزرگی دارند (۲۶۳/۱). از ۷ تن قاضی تختگاه خزران دو تن ویژه مسلمانان، دو تن برای خزران که به حکم تورات داوری کنند، دو تن برای نصرانیان مقیم آنجا، و سرانجام، یکی برای صقالبه (اسلاوها) و روس و سایر طوایف بت پرست بوده است (مسعودی، ۲۱۴/۱). مسعودی پیرامون داوری قاضیان اشاره‌ای دارد که حاکی از اهمیت شریعت اسلام و احترام بدان در میان افراد غیر مسلمان است. وی می‌نویسد: چون قضایای مهم رخ دهد و قاضیان در آن فرومانند، نزد قاضی مسلمان روند و حکم از وی خواهند و از مقررات شریعت اسلام اطاعت کنند (همانجا). اسلام که از اواسط سده ۷ به قلمرو خزران راه یافته بود، چنان نیرو گرفت که بیشتر اهالی به اسلام روی آوردند، اما این وضع دیری نپایید. در ۹۶۵/۳۵۴ م دولت کیف روس امپراتوری خزر را درهم شکست و در ۹۲۱/۴۰۳ م این امپراتوری برای همیشه از میان رفت (بنیگسن، ۱۰۲).

در همسایگی خزر، دولت دیگری به نام بلغار (بلغر) در اوایل سده ۱۰ م (به احتمال اواخر سده ۳ و اوایل سده ۴ ق) بنیان یافت. قبایل کوچنده بلغار پیش از سده ۱۰ به یکجانشینی روی آوردند و تابع خاقانات خزر شدند. خان بلغار در ۹۲۲/۳۱۰ م به اتحاد قبایل قلمرو خود پرداخت (BSE³, III/500). وی برای مبارزه با خزران از مقتدر خلیفه عباسی یاری طلبید تا به مردم او شرایع اسلامی را بیاموزد و در سرزمین او مسجد بنا کند (ابن فضلان، ۶۷-۶۸؛ نیز نک: ه.د، ۴۰۰/۴-۴۰۱). مقتدر هیأتی را به سرپرستی ابن فضلان روانه سرزمین بلغار کرد. چنین به نظر می‌رسد که اتحاد قبایل بلغار پس از پذیرش اسلام صورت گرفته، و چه بسا اسلام عامل اتحاد آنان بوده است، زیرا بلغارها با پذیرش اسلام به حمایت خلافت بغداد مستظهر گردیدند (نک: همان، ۴۰۶-۳۹۹/۴). انصاری دمشقی می‌نویسد: مردم بلغار مسلمانانی هستند که به دست مقتدر اسلام آوردند (ص ۲۶۳-۲۶۴). ابن رسته می‌نویسد: بلغارها در سرزمینی میان خزر و سرزمین صقالبه (اسلاوها) سکنی دارند و لباس آنان شبیه لباس مسلمانان و گورهایشان همانند گور مسلمانان است (ص ۱۴۱). پس از شکست خزران در ۹۶۵/۳۵۴ م، بلغارها از تابعیت خزران رهایی یافتند. گروهی از بلغارها از ۹۳۸/۶۳۸ م به اردوی زرین پیوستند. آنان تا عصر تیمور در منطقه خود باقی بودند و به گمان محققان در اواخر سده ۸ ق/اواسط دهه پایانی سده ۱۴

شامل داغستانی، ترجمه و تلخیص کاوه بیات، تهران، ۱۳۷۰ ش؛ مینورسکی، و. تاریخ شروان و دربند، ترجمه محسن خادم، تهران، ۱۳۷۵ ش؛ نیز:

Akiner, Sh., *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union*, London/New York, 1986; BSE³; *Istoriya Armyanskogo naroda*, ed. Nersesyan, Erevan, 1980; *Istoriya Azerbaidzhana*, ed. I.A. Huseinov and A.S. Sumbatzade, Baku, 1958; *Istoriya Dagestana*, Moscow, 1967-1968; Kalankatuatsi, Movses, *Istoriya strany Aluank*, tr. Sh.V. Smbatyan, Erevan, 1984; *Narodi Kavkaza*, ed. M.O. Kosven et al., Moscow, 1960.

عنايت الله رضا
اسلام در منطقه ولگا و شمال دریای سیاه: به عنوان مقدمه

گفتنی است که از اواخر سده نخست و اوایل سده ۲ ق/اوایل سده ۸ م جهان به صورت دو قطبی درآمد و در میان دو ابر قدرت اسلام و مسیحیت تقسیم شد. امپراتوری خزر در حکم نیروی سومی بود که دوستی و دشمنی آن برای هر کدام از دو طرف به یک اندازه واجد اهمیت می‌نمود؛ لیکن این نیرو نمی‌توانست در صورت قبول اسلام و یا مسیحیت استقلال خود را حفظ کند، زیرا قبول هر یک از این دو دین مستلزم پذیرش سلطه خلیفه بغداد و یا امپراتور بیزانس می‌بود. کیش بت پرستی بدوی خزران نیز در مقایسه با ادیان توحیدی، وحشیانه و فرسوده تلقی می‌شد و خزران را از نفوذ معنوی محروم می‌ساخت. در این اوضاع و احوال منطقی آن بود که دین ثالثی را که در قبال هیچ یک از آن دو نیروی بزرگ تعهدی نداشته باشد، بپذیرند و در عین حال مورد احترام هر دو نیرو باشند. آیین یهود از چنین وضعی برخوردار بود و خزران دین یهود را برگزیدند (آرتامونوف، 264؛ کستلر، ۷۰، ۷۱).

البته پذیرش دین یهود امری ناگهانی نبود. خزران دست کم از یک قرن پیش با یهودان و مراسم مذهبی آنان آشنایی داشتند. گروهی از یهودان بر اثر تعقیب و شکنجه بیزانس، و شمار اندکی از آنان پس از فتح آسیای صغیر از سوی عربها، به قلمرو خزران روی آورده بودند (همو، ۷۲). در ضمن بازرگانان، پیشه‌وران و گروه کثیری از خزران، اسلام آورده بودند. بدین روال در سرزمین خزر، به ویژه در شهر اتل مردم بسیاری از مسلمانان، مسیحی و یهودی و نیز بت پرست می‌زیستند. پذیرفته شدن دین یهود از سوی فرمانروای خزران موجب انتشار آن در میان خزران شد (مسعودی، ۲۱۲/۱؛ کستلر، همانجا). محققان، زندگی یهودان در قفقاز، به ویژه در سرزمین داغستان را مدتها پیش از فتوحات مسلمین دانسته‌اند (آرتامونوف، 265، حاشیه 5). اجداد و اسلاف این گروه که از طبقه محروم جامعه بودند، به گناه حمایت از جنبش مزدکیان به همراه گروهی از ایشان در نیمه نخست سده ۶ م و در دوران پی‌گردد مزدکیان در عهد ساسانی به داغستان گریختند. از این رهگذر می‌توان تا اندازه‌ای به آشنایی و گرایش خزران نسبت به آیین یهود پی برد (همانجا، حاشیه 6).

مسعودی گسترش آیین یهود در سرزمین خزر را مربوط به زمان هارون الرشید دانسته است (همانجا)، ولی آرتامونوف بر آن است که رواج دین یهود در این سرزمین دیرتر از ۶۲۱ م نبوده است (ص 266). مسعودی می‌نویسد: در اتل اکثریت با مسلمانان است و سپاه شاه از ایشان است و از شروطی که مسلمانان با شاه خزر دارند، آشکار بودن

attacks on China but were repulsed, particularly by the famous Chinese general Ts'ao Ts'ao. When the Hsien-pei first appeared, during the Wang Mang interregnum (9–23 CE), they had no supreme ruler; unified leadership is not ascribed to them until just before their defeat of the Hsiung-nu. Oral tradition embellished this first leader, T'an-shih-huai (d. between 178 and 183), with a "miraculous birth," heroic qualities, and the wisdom to be a chief, yet the Hsien-pei failed to create a lasting empire in this fragmented period of steppe history.

From approximately 400 to 550 a new power emerged on the Mongolian steppe: the Juan-juan (or Jou-juan). Their origins are uncertain but future research may clarify their relation to the Hua and to the Avars who appeared in Europe in the fifth century. According to a widely accepted but yet unproven theory, the Juan-juan in the east are identified with the Avars in the west. Personal names, as given in Chinese, do not appear to be either Turkic or Mongol, but it is with the Juan-juan that the title *kaghan* is first used for the ruler. In 546 the last ruler, A-na-kui, was approached by a man named Bumin (T'u-men), whom he called a blacksmith slave, and who had the audacity to request the hand of one of A-na-kui's daughters. He was rudely refused—so the story goes—whereupon Bumin and his followers revolted, overthrew the Juan-juan, and established their own Türk empire.

Türk. The appearance of the Türk—the first Inner Asian people whose language is known and the first also to use with certainty a Turkic idiom—marks a turning point in the history of the steppe. According to Chinese sources they were metallurgists employed by the Juan-juan, but it is not clear whether the revolt led by Bumin (d. 552) was social in character or a minority uprising. After Bumin's death the empire split, one group, led by his son, establishing itself on the Mongolian steppe, while the other group, under the leadership of his brother Ishtemi, ruled over the more western part of the empire. They encountered the Ephthalites (or White Huns) on the borders of Persia. The Türk made an alliance with Sasanid Persia (226–655), encircled and destroyed the Ephthalites, establishing thereby a common border with Persia, but also obtaining control of the lucrative silk trade. Because of its commercial interests—represented mainly by Sogdian merchants—the Western Türk empire then found itself embroiled in the conflict between Persia and Byzantium. Persian attempts to stop silk from reaching Byzantium forced the Türk to go directly to Byzantium by a northern route. It was for this reason that embassies were first exchanged between Türk and Byzantium, opening up entire new horizons for Romans as well as for the Chinese. The first Türk embassy, headed by a Sogdian named Maniakhs,

reached the court of Justin II (r. 565–578) in 567. The Türk embassy remained in Constantinople, then part returned to the Türk with the Byzantine ambassador Zemarkhos. A later Greek ambassador arrived at a Türk camp at the death of the ruler and witnessed the funeral rites, which included laceration of the faces of the mourners and the sacrifice of horses and servants. The Western Türk empire disintegrated around 659.

The Eastern Türk empire, in a semipermanent state of war with China and plagued by internal dissension, was finally defeated in 630. Chinese rule then lasted until 682 when the Türk revolted and again seized power, forming a second Türk empire that was overthrown in 743 by the revolt of three Turkic tribes: the Basmil, the Karluk, and the Uighur. It was from the period of the second Türk empire that the first indigenous texts from Inner Asia—as stated above, written in a Turkic language—have been found. The most famous of these are funeral-stela inscriptions written in a runiclike alphabet found in the area of the Orkhon River and dedicated to the Türk ruler, Bilge Kaghan (r. 716–734), his brother Kül Tegin, and the prime minister Tonyuquq. These texts give not only a history of the Türk people but also provide valuable insight into Türk society and customs, including their belief in *tengri* ("heaven, sky"), in the sacred mountain of Ötökän, and in the erection of *balbal* (stone pillars) on the tomb of a warrior inscribed with the name of an enemy he had killed. [See *Tengri*.] Chinese sources recorded three Türk legends of origin quite different from one another: the child raised by a wolf, the child born of the spirit of wind and rain, the child born of the spirit of the lake. Such a multiplicity of ancestral traditions would suggest that the Türk empire was most likely a confederation of tribes of diverse origin.

Avars, Khazars, and Bulgars. The Greek historian Priscus wrote of a migration of peoples taking place from 461 to 465 on the south Russian steppe. An embassy from the Oghur, Onoghur, and Saroghur had arrived in Byzantium, reporting that they had been pushed by the Sabir, who in turn were being displaced by a people in Central Asia called Avar. For almost a century there was no news of them, but in 558 the Avars, now in the Caucasus, sent an embassy to the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565) requesting land in exchange for military protection. Fleeing from the Western Türk, the Avars were given asylum in the Byzantine empire by Justin II, an act that infuriated the Türk, who considered the Avars their own, fugitive subjects. It is a well-documented Inner Asian concept that ruling tribes owned the peoples whom they had conquered. Settled in the Carpathian Basin, the Avars remained there for some two and a half centuries, becom-

olduğu gibi, arkeolojik araştırmalar, Avar Türk san'atının Germen ve Slav san'atları üzerindeki te'sirini ortaya koymuştur (göst. yer.). Orta Macaristan'ın Nagy Szent Miklos mevkiinde 1799'da ele-geçmiş olup hangi Türk kavmine âit bulunduğu hâlâ münâkaşa edilen, üzerleri Türkçe kitâbeli ünlü hazîne (bk. H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk yazıtları*, 1939, II, 187—207)'nin Avar çağından kaldığı ileri sürülmüştür (A. Alföldi, *Etudes sur le trésor de Nagy-szentmiklos*, *Cahiers archeologiques*, 1950—1951, V, 123—149 ve VI, VIII. sayılar; Avar san'atı ve menşe'leri için bk. B. Ögel, *İslâmiyetten önce Türk kültür tarihi*, 1962, s. 113—125; Avar arkeolojisi: Fr. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 1962, V, 278—292).

Avar hakanlığının özellikle Slav kavimleri üzerinde büyük bir te'siri olduğu anlaşıyor. IV. asra kadar Germen Gotların, daha sonra Hun imparatorluğu ile Türklerin hâkimiyetine giren Slav topluluklarına âit inanılır vesikalar Avar çevrinde başlamaktadır; böylece Slav tarihi umûmiyetle Türk tarihinin bir parçası durumuna girmiştir. Kalabalık Slav kütlelerinin çeşitli Şarkî Avrupa bölgelerine ve Balkanlara dağılması hâdisesi daha çok Avarlar devrinde vukua gelmiş olup, bu büyük ölçüdeki göçler (tafsilat için bk. I. Boča, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs*, Wiesbaden, 1967, s. 43 v.d.) „Avar hakanlığınca ihtiyaç duyulan toprak mahsûllerini elde etmek için onlara zirâat işleri ve aynı zamanda sınır bekçiliği yaptırmak maksadı ile“ (J. Marquart, *Osteurop. u. ostasiat. Streifzüge*, s. 127) Avar idâresi tarafından hazırlanmış ve tatbik edilmiştir. Bu sûretle türlü Slav kabileleri bugünkü Çekoslovakya'ya, Elbe nehri boyuna, Dalmaçya kıyılarına, Balkanlara sevk edilmişlerdir (K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha, 1911, I, 83—107; Davidson-Horváth, *The Avar invasion of Corinth, Hesperia*, Zürich, 1937, VI, 27—40; F.V. Şişic, *Geschichte der Kroaten*, Zagreb, 1917, I; krş. L. Rásonyi, *ayn. esr.*, s. 83 v.d.). 750 sıralarında Atina çevresinde Avar denilen Slavlardan bahsedilmekte, aynı devirde Hırvatları Adriatik sâhiline götüren reisler arasında şu adlar sıralanmaktadır (bk. *Byz. turc.*, II, 94, 144, 151, 267): Külük, Lobel (Alp-el?), Kösenci (Koşuncu), Buga, Tugay (bk. J. Mikkola, *Avarica*, 1927, s. 157 v.dd.; K. Porphyrogenetec's [Bizans imparatoru, ölm. 952], *De Administrando Imperio, Commentary*, London, 1962, II, 117). Bu arada Pannonia (Garbi Macaristan) ve Morva Slavlarının başında, Slavlaşmış Avar beylerinin bulunduğu ileri sürülmekte, diğer taraftan Germen kabilelerinin Çek memleketindeki yurtlarından ayrılmasının, Avar başbuğlarının baskısı sonucu vukua geldiği ve bu hâdisenin Şarkî Almanya'da meydana çıkan Avar san'atı ile ilgili eserlerle de doğrulandığı bildirilmektedir (D. Csallany, *Archaeologische Denkmäler der Avarzeit in Mitteleuropa*, Budapeşte,

1956; krş. Rásonyi, *ayn. esr.*, s. 82 v.d.). Böylece, 584'te Suriyeli Piskopos Johannes'in ifâdesi ile „eskiden ormanlardan dışarı çıkmaya cesâret edemezken, Avarlar sâyesinde savaşa alışan ve altın, gümüş, at sürüsü sâhibi olan Slavların“ (Rásonyi, *ayn. esr.*, s. 80) sistemli şekilde göçe zorlanmaları, günümüz Orta ve Şarkî Avrupa kavmi haritasının Avar hakanlığı tarafından çizilmesine yol açmıştır. Bugün Kafkaslarda yaşayan Avar zümresinin de onların torunları olduğu kabul edilmektedir (bk. K. Czeglédy, *Kaukazusi Hunok, Kaukazusi Avarok*, *Studia Antiqua*, Budapeşte, 1955, II/1—2, 121—140; umûmî bibliyografya için bk. *Byz. turc.*, 1958², I, 71—75; A. Kollautz, *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Awaren*, Prag, 1944; B. Ögel, *ayn. esr.*, s. 113 v.d.; L. Rásonyi, *ayn. esr.*, s. 305—308).

II- HAZAR HAKANLIĞI:

VII — X. asırlarda kuvvetli teşkilâtı, canlı ticârî faaliyeti, dinî toleransı ve iktisâdî refahı ile, Kafkaslar ve Karadeniz'in şimâl düzlüklerinde İtil (Volga)'den Özü (Dnyeper)'ye, Çolman (Kama)'a ve Kiyef'e uzanan sâhada siyâsî istikrar sağlayan Hazar hakanlığı, Şarkî Avrupa tarihinde büyük bir rol oynamış en mühim Türk devleti olarak görünmektedir. Hakanlığa ad veren Hazarların (Arab: al-Hazar, İbrani: Hazar, Kozar, Latin: Chazari, Gazari, Grek: Khazaroi, Rus: Kozar, Kozarin, Macar: Kazár, Kozár, Ermeni: Hazir-k', Gürcü: Hazar-i), yukarıda gördüğümüz tarihî seyir dolayısıyla, Sabar Türklerinin devamı oldukları, islâm yazarı al-Mas'ûdî (X. asır)'nin bir kaydı ile de kuvvet kazanmıştır. Ona göre (*al-Tanbih*, BGA, VIII, 83), İranlıların Hazar dedikleri kavim Türkler tarafından Sabar (Sibir) diye anılır. Sabar adı yerine Hazar adının meydana çıkıp umûmîleşmesi ve ayrıca, Sabar sözü ile Hazar tâbirinin hemen aynı mânaya gelmesi (Hazar ~ Kazar = Kaz + ar - Anadolu Türkçesi'nde: gez + er = serbest dolaşan, gezen, bk. Németh, *A honfoglaló...*, 203 v.d.) de bunu te'yid eder (başka görüşler ve Hazar - Uygur münâsebeti için bk. D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1967², s. 9—40). Hazarları meydana getiren ahâlinin yalnız eski Sabar Türklerinden ibâret olmadığı, aslen Sabar olan Semender ve Belencer adlı iki Hazar boyundan (Dunlop, *ayn. esr.*, s. 6, 13) başka, hakanlık topraklarında yaşayan zümreler arasında türlü Türk gruplarının yer aldığı da şüphesizdir. Hazar ülkesinde Y'li (şark) Türkçe (Hun, Gök-Türk, Uygur lehçesi) yanında R'li (garp) Türkçe (Oğur-Bulgar lehçesi), ayrıca Fin-Ugor (Macarca) ve diğer mahalli diller de konuşuluyordu. Bu da bölgede cereyan eden tarihî hâdiselerin tabii sonucu idi: Hazar devletinin ana toprakları durumunda olan İtil - Kafkaslar - Don arasındaki sâha, şarktan garba gelişen büyük göç hareketlerinin güzergâhı olduğu için, burada Hun, Oğur, Fin-Ugor ve Avarlardan kalan küteler yaşamakta idi.

THE SUFIS OF BIJAPUR, 1300-1700

Richard Maxwell EATON, Ph.D.
The University of Wisconsin, 1972

Supervisor: Assistant Professor John Folsom Richards

Between 1300 and 1700, and especially in the seventeenth century, there lived in the South Indian city-state of Bijapur a conspicuous Muslim elite -- the Sufis. While most studies of Indian Sufis have approached such individuals as carriers of Islamic mystic doctrine, this study is primarily concerned with their social roles. Two fundamental questions guide the inquiry. First, how did Sufis of Bijapur interact with the urban establishment as represented by the 'ulama and the court of the Kingdom of Bijapur (ruled 1502-1686)? And secondly, how did they interact with the non-Muslim population? Since the Sufis of medieval India are frequently cited as agents of Islamic conversion, one of the aims of this thesis is to examine to what extent and under what circumstances Sufis of Bijapur might have acted in this capacity.

The study has significance from several perspectives. First, it provides basic biographical information on members of a Muslim elite little known outside Bijapur, thereby shedding light on the cultural life of the kingdom itself. From the perspective of the Indian subcontinent, this inquiry represents a case study in some of the points of accommodation and conflict between Islamic culture and the Hindu environment. And from the perspective of medieval Islamic civilization, the study offers a framework for analyzing the sort of individuals which, between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, could be found anywhere from Morocco to Indonesia.

The procedure used in this study was to examine a number of Persian sources which can be classified under four headings: official documents of the Bijapur government, chronicles and memoirs concerning the kingdom's history, works written by the Sufis, and works written about the Sufis. Efforts were made to distinguish Sufis by familial connections, membership in the various Sufi orders of Islam, language usage, and native-born or foreign-born origin.

The study refutes the stereotyped conception of medieval Indian Sufis as pious and quietistic mystics patiently preaching Islam among Hindus, and concludes that one cannot generalize about the Sufis of medieval Bijapur as any unitary group relating in any single or predictable way to the society in which they lived. Rather, a number of distinct types were identified. Some Sufis were unique in affiliating themselves with Muslim armies and engaging in armed combat with non-Muslims. Others differed from others in their willingness, or even eagerness, to guide the Bijapur court toward a path of strict Islamic orthodoxy. Others wrote mystic and popular literature, remaining aloof from the affairs of urban Islam. Still others accepted government land grants, creating in Bijapur a petty gentry of Sufis bound to court charity. And a final type of Sufis was represented by those dervishes who withdrew to a life of spiritual and even narcotic intoxication in defiance of the doctrinal and social norms of urban Islam. The study attempts to explain why certain types of Sufis were most characteristic of certain phases of Bijapur's historical development.

Order No. 72-33,846, 383 pages.

THE Q'AZARS: THEIR HISTORY AND LANGUAGE AS REFLECTED IN THE ISLAMIC, BYZANTINE, CAUCASIAN, HEBREW AND OLD RUSSIAN SOURCES

Peter Benjamin GOLDEN, Ph.D.
Columbia University, 1970

From the fourth century A.D. with the advent of the Huns to the thirteenth century with the coming of the Mongols, the

Ponto-Caspian steppelands were the setting for a series of invasions by nomadic peoples. In kaleidoscope fashion, waves of Altaic horsemen (Huns, Oghur Turks, Bulgars, Savirs, Avars, Kōk Turks, Q'azars, Pechenegs, Qumans, Oghuz and finally the Mongols) succeeded one another as master of these lands. Only two of these large tribal confederations, however, attained any kind of durable statehood: the Q'azar Qaghanate and the Mongolo-Qipchaq Golden Horde. The parallels between the two are striking. Both had their capitals in the lower Volga delta where they could control the East-West trade. Both were large, multi-national states which brought relative order and stability to the steppelands. Both survived for approximately 300 years before succumbing to the emerging (or re-emerging) Russian state as well as the centrifugal tendencies of their component parts. The Q'azars, like the Kōk Turks before them (and later the Mongols), contrary to the popular conception of the nomad as a mere mounted marauder interested in booty, deeply appreciated the significance of trade (from which the Qaghans were able to enrich themselves) and established a pax Q'azarica in the Ponto-Caspian steppelands to ensure its free flow.

The Q'azars played a significant role in the history of Kievan Rus', Judaism in Rus', Hungarian Proto-history, Byzantium, the Caucasus and the lands of Islam. Consequently, we have important source materials in the languages of the areas concerned. The works of D. M. Dunlop and M. I. Artamonov have already reconstructed the basic outlines of Q'azar history. Thus, only a brief sketch of Q'azar history was given here. The purpose of the present work was to focus on the question of the ethnic affiliations of the Q'azars by first placing them within the context of Altaic steppe history and then examining the remnants of their language (as reflected in the sources -- we possess no Q'azar texts) and comparing their institutions with those of the Altaic world.

The milieu from which the Q'azars sprang was Turkic. Q'azar institutions clearly parallel those of the Kōk Turks. The remnants of the Q'azar language (some 56 words culled from contemporary Islamic, Hebrew, Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian and Old Russian sources) were examined in the manuscripts in which they are found to ensure correct readings. These words consist of tribal names, titles, personal names, topo- and hydronyms and one word designating a kind of war chariot. The overwhelming bulk of these words are Common Turkic (the titlature, in particular, is virtually identical with that of the Kōk Turks) with a sprinkling of Iranian (Q'azar contacts with the Iranian world, particularly Khwarizm were very close). A number of words are unidentifiable because of corruptions in the manuscripts or (in the case of North Caucasian toponyms) because they probably reflect substratal elements. Only one word may be identified as Oghuric (or Bulghar) Turkic (Sarkel-Sharkil?), but even here we are not compelled to do so.

The Q'azar dynasty appears to be of Ashina (Kōk Turkic) origin. This is significant as it explains the origin of the Q'azar Qaghanate. At this time in the Turkic world only members of the Ashina or their rival house, the Dulo, could bear the title Qaghan.

Order No. 73-8948, 730 pages.

ANDREJ BOGOLJUBSKIJ: POLICIES AND IDEOLOGY

Ellen Stiskin HURWITZ, Ph.D.
Columbia University, 1972

An assessment of the interrelationship between the political policies, the ecclesiastical policies and the ideological tracts of the reign of Andrej Bogoljubskij, Prince of Vladimir-Suzdal' from 1157 to 1174, leads to the conclusion that, contrary to the assertions of sixteenth century Muscovite chroniclers and

KHAZARS

The Khazars were an ethnic group, belonging to the Turkish peoples, who, toward the end of the 2d century of the Christian Era, had settled in the region between the Caucasus and the lower Volga and Don Rivers, and in the following centuries, after a series of victories over the Byzantines, the Persians, and the Arabs, established a powerful kingdom in southeastern Asia. At the beginning of the 8th century, dynastic ties bound the Khazars more closely to Constantinople, which led to a limited spread of Christianity among them. They also became acquainted with Judaism from the numerous Jews who lived in the Crimea and along the Bosphorus. When the Byzantine Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, persecuted the Jews in A.D. 723, many Jews found refuge in the Khazar kingdom, and their influence was so great that, around the middle of the 8th century, the king of the Khazars and many of the Khazar nobility accepted the Jewish faith. According to a widespread legend, the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism followed a religious discussion in which their king was particularly impressed by the arguments of the Jewish theologians.

After the conversion of the leading Khazars to Judaism, many Jews, including several Jewish scholars, migrated to the Khazar kingdom, where they kept in touch with the intellectual centers of the Jewish world, especially those in Mesopotamia and Palestine. The literary sources indicate explicitly that the Khazars acknowledged the authority of the Talmud; hence, they must not have been affected in religious matters by the Karaites.

The Khazars' acceptance of Judaism coincided with a period of peaceful development in their history, when they focused their attention on the strengthening of their power at home and on the extending of their political influence abroad. They thus established new commercial centers of importance at various places throughout their sphere of influence, and in these places, as well as in their older cities, such as Itil in the delta of the Volga, and Samkarsh and Tamatarcha on the Bosphorus, the Jewish element formed an important part of the population. At Semender on the Caspian Sea, a viceroy of the Khazars, who was likewise a convert to Judaism, had his headquarters. Although the most important posts among the Khazars were held by families which had been converted to Judaism, there reigned in Khazaria a spirit of religious toleration such as was rarely to be found at the time in Christian or Moslem countries.

In the last third of the 9th century the Khazar kingdom suffered considerably from the incursions of another Turkish people, the Petchonegs. Meanwhile, since the Russians occupied the region at the delta of the Dnieper and even attacked Constantinople, the Byzantines were forced, for the sake of mutual defense, to strengthen their friendly relations with the Khazars. The task of doing this was entrusted to Cyril, the later apostle of the Slavs, who used the opportunity to further an effort to win the Khazars to Christianity. At the beginning of the 10th century, however, the Byzantines allied themselves with peoples who were hostile to the Khazars, and among these people, too, they sent their Christian missionaries. The Khazar King was once more able to avert the threatened invasion of his land, but

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he put an end to the vaunted religious toleration in his realm. After this failure of the Byzantines in their efforts to weaken the Khazars, they induced the Russians to undertake a military campaign against them. The Russian Grand Duke, Igor, captured the city of Samkarsh and the Khazar cities in the Crimea, but was then defeated, together with his Byzantine allies, by the Khazars. Yet the Russians' advance could not be checked forever. Between A.D. 964 and 969 they overran most of the region where the Khazars had been settled. Many of the Khazars withdrew into the remote steppes and especially into the inaccessible mountain country of the Caucasus. From here their king appealed to various Moslem countries for help, offering them in return his willingness to become a Moslem himself.

For some centuries several sections of the former kingdom of the Khazars preserved a certain amount of political independence, and in these regions the Khazar people remained loyal to their Jewish faith. However, when the Crimea was later conquered by the Tartars, most of the remaining Khazars embraced Islam, while the others were absorbed, partly by the Rabbanite and partly by the Karaite communities of Jews. Yet the so-called "Mountain Jews" of modern times are in part descendants of the ancient Khazars. Some Khazar elements seem to have entered Hungary, too, at an early date in the train of the Magyars, who were akin to the Khazars and once belonged to their kingdom.

Although the European Jews in the first Christian millennium had some knowledge of the existence of a Jewish kingdom in Khazaria, they did not have much precise information about it. The Spanish-Jewish scholar and statesman, Hasdai *ibn Shaprut, who lived around the middle of the 10th century, sent a letter to King Joseph of the Khazars in which he asked several definite questions about this people. The King's answer, written in Hebrew, was cited by various medieval authors and was also used by *Judah ben Samuel ha-Levi in his *Kuzari* (about A.D. 1100). Toward the end of the 19th century a copy of this letter was discovered among the documents that were found in the *geniza of the synagogue of Old Cairo, together with other documents concerning the Khazars. Their contents largely corroborate the data already known about this people from the Armenian, Byzantine, and Arabic historians.

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[K. HRUBY]

KHOMIÁKOV, ALEKSEĬ STEPANOVICH

Leader of the early Slavophile ideologists and most influential Russian Orthodox lay theologian of the 19th century, poet; b. Moscow, May 1, 1804; d. of cholera on his estate near Riazan, Sept. 23, 1860. Khomiákov was a very versatile and erudite member of the landed gentry, and was intimately acquainted with leading intellectuals at home and abroad. He was well read in the Greek Fathers, but the chief influence on his thought came from the German romantic and idealist philosophers then popular in Russia. He studied literature at the University of Moscow, and wrote verse tragedies

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Ankara Üniv. İlähiyat Fak. Ankara 1980, I c, X+290 s, matbu'.

Doktora tezinin adı :

"Hazarların Yahudileşmesi ve Karai İnancı Üzerinde Bir Araştırma."

Hazarların menşei üzerinde durularak dini hayatları yahudiliği kabul ediş tarihleri ele alınmış ve Hazar Devletinin yıkılışı işlenmiştir. Bu gün dünyada yaşayan Karai Türklerinin çeşitli yönlerden tetkiki yapılarak, onların Hazarlarla olan münasebetleri ve Hazar'ların bakıyyesi incelenerek umumî mahiyette bir "netice" ile çalışma tamamlanmıştır.

e. The Khazars *Hazarlar*

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133. VAISSIÈRE, E. de la. « Les marchands d'Asie centrale dans l'empire khazar », in : Kazansky, M. ; Nercessian, A. ; Zuckerman, C., eds., *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*. Paris, Lethielleux, 2000, pp. 367-378. (Réalités Byzantines, VII).

Cet article prouve que le commerce de la steppe occidentale au 7^e et au 8^e s., alors que se forme l'empire khazar, était aux mains de marchands iranophones, khorezmiens et sogdiens, venus d'Asie centrale. L'A. s'appuie sur les découvertes archéologiques (argenterie, monnaies) pour souligner qu'au 8^e s. les 3/4 des objets précieux sont passés par l'Asie centrale, puis montre que les autres hypothèses (en particulier celle de grands marchands proprement khazars proposée par Th. Noonan) ne résistent pas à l'analyse et, enfin, qu'une source arménienne mentionne effectivement les marchands d'Asie centrale au nord du Caucase. Le grand commerce samanide du 10^e s. a donc eu un antécédent au 7^e et au 8^e s. par delà un 9^e s. dominé par l'afflux des marchands d'Iraq par le Caucase, et le commerce sogdien de la grande époque un pendant occidental.

F.G.

Horatio

189. GOLDEN, Peter. *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe. Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*. Ashgate, 2003 (Variorum Collected Studies Series).

Les articles contenus dans cet ouvrage ont été publiés entre 1972 et 1977 par le grand spécialiste des contacts entre les nomades de la steppe eurasiennne et leurs voisins sédentaires. Les articles concernent les questions d'ethnogenèse (« The Migration of the Oguz » ; voir également les trois articles consacrés aux Comans), l'histoire des langues, les religions (« Wolves, Dogs and Qipcaq Religion »), l'origine des institutions (« The Qipcaqs of Medieval Eurasia : An Exemple of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes »), les interactions entre nomades et sédentaires, notamment en Eurasie et en Transcaucasie pré-gengiskhanide, plus particulièrement avec les Russes et les Géorgiens. Les articles ont été regroupés en trois grands domaines. « People and cultures », « Nomads and their Neighbours », « The Qipchaq ». L'ouvrage est muni d'un très utile index (pp. 1-19). D.A.

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serve to symbolize the spiritual *hudūd* and chiefly the grades of the propagandist hierarchy which represent them here on earth, grades which the imām himself must pass before reaching divine inspiration.

But several of these numbers and especially that of the days of the lunar month also evoke the succession in time of the heptades of imāms, mainly determined, as the *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* show, by the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. Four heptades correspond to four periods coupled two by two: clandestinity and revival, apogee and decadence; and there are eight in all in the «millenium» inaugurated by Mahomet and closed by the manifestation of the *Qā'im* of the Resurrection. The *Kāfiya* stresses the importance of the *qā'im*-s who inaugurate the periods of clandestinity and more especially the periods of apogee. The succession of prophet—envoys and that of the imāms in the heptade represent for the adamic soul, and, therefore, for the particular souls of the initiated, a spiritual progress tantamount to an ascension in the celestial spheres.

If we now try to apply this theory of the heptades to the reality of history, the *Kāfiya* enables us to realize that the imāms from al-Ḥusayn to Muḥammad b. Ismā'il correspond to a period of decadence, while the period of apogee before it only included the prophet and his *waṣī*, 'Alī. This raises a problem if we accept what some authors suggest, that there must have been forty eight imāms from Mahomet to the *Qā'im* of the Resurrection.

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Journal Asiatique, 273, 1985 Paris-

LES HAZARS ET LA ṬUGRĀ DES SELJŪQIDES

Supplément à un vieil article¹.

PAR

CLAUDE CAHEN

Dans un article vieux de quarante ans sur la *ṭugrā* seljūqide, mais dont je ne sache pas que la conclusion ait été contesté depuis lors¹, j'ai montré que la *ṭugrā* primitive, celle des Seljūqides, ancêtre de celle des Ottomans, dessinait simplifiés un arc et une flèche, la flèche en général traversant l'arc, emblème normal de la souveraineté/propriété dans une population de nomades guerriers et essentiellement archers. Je ne m'étais pas autrement posé la question de savoir où, à quand, à qui pouvait remonter ce dessin avec sa signification. J'avais cependant, dans un autre article², indiqué que la famille seljūqide, avec le groupe d'Oguz qu'elle conduisait, avait été en quelque rapport au X^e siècle avec un des derniers chefs hazars subsistant à cette époque apparemment du côté de la Mer d'Aral³. Je n'avais aucune raison de rapprocher ces deux informations, les Hazars alors ne m'intéressant pas. Mais voici que je m'avise que les savants, en particulier les numismates, ont depuis longtemps remarqué que les Hazars sur divers objets et monnaies utilisaient un signe, dont la signification n'était pas claire, mais dont le dessin Ψ se trouvait analogue, sans que ces savants eussent pu le remarquer, à celui que j'avais montré être celui de la *ṭugrā* seljūqide⁴. Dès lors l'hypothèse saute aux yeux: la *ṭugrā* seljūqide est tout simplement la descendante du signe hazar, et en même temps elle nous donne apparemment la clé de l'inter-

¹ JA, XIV^e série, 43-45/1945, pp. 167-172.

² «Le Malik-Nāmeḥ et l'histoire des origines seljukides», *Oriens* II/1, 1949, p. 42 sq.

³ Sur les Hazars en général, voir Dunlop, *A History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, pp. 31 sq. et 258-260, et la très importante mise au point de H. B. Golden.

⁴ Th. S. Noonan, «Did the Khazars possess a monetary economy», *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* II/1982, p. 223 sq.

and the Hijrat movement and served in 1920 to 1921 as the president of the Frontier Khilafat Committee. He was a founding member in 1929 of the Afghan Jirga and its volunteers, the Khuda'i Khidmatgars, and played a leading role in organizing the civil disobedience campaigns of 1930 and 1931 to 1932. He was instrumental in bringing his party into the Indian National Congress in 1931 and served as a member of the Congress's central leadership from 1931 to 1947. Following independence, he helped to found the Awami League and the National Awami Party of Pakistan. On several occasions he was arrested or forced to live in exile as a result of his advocacy of Pakhtun autonomy within Pakistan.

[See also Awami League; Khuda'i Khidmatgar; and Pakhtun.]

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *My Life and Struggle* (1969).
D. G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan* (1967).

STEPHEN RITTENBERG

KHAN, AFZAL. See Afzal Khan.

KHAN, SIR SIKANDAR HAYAT (1892–1945), prominent politician in the Indian province of the Punjab. He entered the provincial legislature in 1924 after careers in the Indian Army and business and rose to be the chief minister of the province from 1937 to his death. In 1937 he reached an agreement with Mohammad Ali Jinnah under which his party, the Unionists, allied with the All-India Muslim League. [See also Jinnah, Mohammad Ali.]

STEPHEN RITTENBERG

KHAN, TIKKA (b. 1915), Pakistani general. Tikka Khan served in the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971. As the chief martial law administrator and governor of East Pakistan, he directed the crackdown on the Awami League movement in March 1971. Under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto he served as the Pakistan Army chief of staff. After Bhutto's fall he joined the opposition to Zia-ul Haq's government. [See also Awami League.]

STEPHEN RITTENBERG

KHANDESH, Indian region occupying the Deccan tableland, bounded by the Narbada and Tapti rivers. This region, associated with events in the *Mahabharata*, is first documented in the second century BCE. Among subsequent dynasties to rule Khandesh

were the Chalukyas, Chauhans, and Khaljis. From 1370 the Faruqi sultans controlled Khandesh; in spite of their comparatively weak position they ward off neighboring kingdoms until 1600, when Khandesh fell to the Mughals. Maratha forces harassed Khandesh from 1670, gaining full authority there by 1760. In the mid-nineteenth century the British controlled Khandesh; today it falls largely within Maharashtra.

H. K. Sherwani, and P. M. Joshi, eds., *History of the Medieval Deccan*, 2 vols. (1973). CATHERINE B. ASHER

KHAYYAM, OMAR (c. 1020–1120), one of the most elusive and important figures of Iranian cultural history. A prominent scholar and scientist from Nishapur, Khayyam was connected with the court of the Seljuk Malikshah and was appointed by the vizier Nizam al-Mulk to reform the calendar system. He is credited with the institution and refinement of the solar calendar and with a number of scientific works in Arabic. His *Ruba'iiyyat* ("quatrains") enjoy a great status in the body of Persian poetry; over a thousand have been attributed to him, although in recent reliable editions they number between 140 (Hidayat) and 250 (Arberry).

The authorship of this or any poetry at all by Khayyam is engulfed in an enduring controversy; so, too, is his philosophical orientation. The facts as well as the legendary accounts of Khayyam's life, however, point to a highly gifted man well capable of producing the complex but brilliantly lucid quatrains. An inspired, if at times arbitrarily free, translation of the *Ruba'iiyyat* by Edward Fitzgerald (1859) introduced Khayyam to the West, creating an almost cultish interest in "Oriental" poetry.

[See also Nizam al-Mulk and Persian Literature.]

A. Dashti, *In Search of Omar Khayyam*, translated by L. P. Elwell-Sutton (1971). Omar Khayyam, *Rubā'īyyāt*, edited by A. J. Arberry (1949). MARIAM PIRNAZAR

KHAZARS (c. 650–965), a tribal confederation of predominantly Turkic stock that controlled the Pontic and Caspian steppes and adjoining lands. Their origins and affiliations within the Turkic language group are problematic. The Khazar khanate emerged from the western territories of the empire of the Turk, which had extended its sway to western Eurasia in the last half of the sixth century. The Turk-Khazar confederation was the ally of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641) in his

marriage. Divorce is discouraged but widow marriage is allowed.

Both extended and nuclear types of families are reported among them. Both sons and daughters have the right of inheritance but not equally. The eldest son inherits the father's authority. Post-delivery pollution and natal restrictions, naming, tonsure (*mundan*), *aqiqa* and circumcision of the male children are observed. The dead are buried and death rites are mostly concluded with the performance of *chaliswan* on the fortieth day after a death in accordance with Islamic tenets.

The Khatri earn a living by printing and dyeing (*rangarikam*), and trying and dyeing (*bhandhani*) of fabrics. Business and cultivation substantiates their income. The Khatri have an effective and organised community council (*jamat*) for dealing with the socio-religious and occupational activities of the community.

They profess Islam and follow the Sunni sect. The sacred priests serving them are from other communities, who officiate over their life-cycle rituals and also during festivals. As artisans, they maintain and continue to have socio-occupational relations with all the communities although ritual relations are restricted among themselves.

They take an active part in local politics. They enjoy almost all the available developmental schemes pertaining to formal education, modern medicines, family planning, drinking water and other civic amenities.

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M.K. MASTER

Khazar

Tribes of Siberia and USSR

The Khazar are a nomadic tribe in the South Russian steppes who flourished in the early Islamic

period. The Khazar tribal union emerged in the course of the 6th century A.D. in the aftermath of a series of migrations of nomadic people from Inner and Central Asia.

With the collapse of the European Hun state in 454 A.D., some of the nomadic elements of Attila's horde withdrew to the Pontic steppe zone. They were joined here, ca. 463 A.D., by waves of Oghur tribes which had been driven from Western Siberia and the Kazakh steppe by the Sabirs who, in turn, had been forced to migrate to the Kazakh steppe from their Central Asian homeland by the expansion of the Avar (Juan-juan, Uar-Hun) tribal confederation.

The Sabirs themselves arrived in the North Caucasian stepplands and Volga region in the opening decades of the 6th century. When Avar (*Juan-juan*) hegemony in Mongolia was overthrown by the Turks (Turkut, Kok Turks) in 552 A.D. elements of the Avars (or perhaps the Hephthalites, whose tribal union was composed of kindred Uar-Hun tribes) migrated westward and entered the Volga-Pontic steppe zone after 557 A.D. where they subjugated some of the Oghur tribes. Avar dominion in this region, was short-lived, for they were soon forced to migrate, together with some of their Oghur subjects, to Pannonia, by the advent of their enemies, the Turks.

Although there are indications in Armenian sources that would appear to give evidence of a Khazar presence in the Volga delta and in the Caucasus prior to the middle of the 6th century for an evaluation of these sources. The Khazars have nothing to do with the *Akatizir/Akatir*, *Khotzir* etc. who figure in Byzantine and Syriac sources during this period, it is only under the aegis of the Turks that the Khazar tribal confederation (most probably an amalgamation, by this time, of Hunnic, Sabir, Oghur, Turk and other nomadic, Altaic elements) fully emerges on to the historical scene.

It cannot be determined, at present, whether a tribe named 'Khazar' actually existed prior to the conquest and organisation of the Volga-North Caucasian-Pontic steppe nomads by the Turks. It may well be that the Khazar tribal union was a creation of the Turks and the name of this new tribal grouping was then anachronistically ascribed, by our early

Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, London 1961, 19-20). The *Shaykh* also assisted the British after Turkey joined the First World War. In 1910 the *Shaykh* had been made Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.) in recognition of his friendliness towards British interests.

After the end of the war and with the rise to power of Riḍā Khān, the situation began to change. The official British promises of support for Khaz'al had been made dependent on his recognition of his obligations towards the Persian government. While that government was weak the issue was largely academic, but when Riḍā Khān began to extend the power of the central government the problem became a pressing one. Khaz'al probably expected greater British support than he received. He was encouraged by London to seek an agreement with Riḍā Khān (see G. Waterfield, *Professional diplomat: Sir Percy Lorraine of Kirkharle Bt.*, London 1973, chs. 6-9 for details and further references to the British diplomatic archives on this complex issue). In Nov. 1923 Khaz'al came to an arrangement with the central government over the payment of taxes (A. C. Mills-paugh, *The American task in Persia*, New York 1925, 216-36), but Riḍā Khān's expedition in the spring of 1924 against the Lurs to the north alarmed Khaz'al. He refused, with good reason, to go voluntarily to Tehran and in August he stated that he would resist Riḍā Khān by force if necessary. British intervention failed to bring about a reconciliation. The *farmāns* of 1903 were revoked by the Shāh and in September Khaz'al accused Riḍā Khān of violating the laws of Persia and of acting as a usurper. This outburst lost Khaz'al the sympathy of the British government which had begun to realise that British interests lay in the creation of a strong central government in Persia (R. M. Burrell, *Britain, Iran and the Persian Gulf: some aspects of the situation in the 1940s and 1930s*, in D. Hopwood (ed.), *The Arabian Peninsula: society and politics*, London 1972). Khaz'al offered an apology for his statement in Dec. 1924, but Riḍā Khān was by now determined to extinguish the *Shaykh's* power. Military preparations were made by the Persian army during the winter of 1924, and on 19 April 1925, Khaz'al was arrested on board a boat at Muḥammara. He was transferred to Tehran and kept there under virtual house arrest until his death.

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(R. M. BURRELL)

KHAZAR, a nomadic people in the South Russian steppes who flourished in the early Islamic period. The Khazar tribal union emerged in the course of the 6th century A.D. in the aftermath of a series of migrations of nomadic peoples from Inner and Central Asia. With the collapse of the European Hun state in 454 A.D., some of the nomadic elements of Attila's horde withdrew to the Pontic steppe zone. They were joined here, ca. 463 A.D., by waves of Oghur tribes which had been driven from Western Siberia and the Kazakh steppe by the Sabirs who, in turn, had been forced to migrate to the Kazakh steppe from their Central Asian homeland by the expansion of the Avar (Juan-juan, An-hun)

tribal confederation (on the history of these migrations, see K. Czeglédy, *A nomád népek vándorlása napkeletől napnyugatig* ("The Migrations of nomadic peoples from East to West"), Budapest 1969). The Sabirs themselves arrived in the North Caucasian steppelands and Volga region in the opening decades of the 6th century. When Avar (Juan-juan) hegemony in Mongolia was overthrown by the Türks (Türküt, Kök Türks) in 552 A.D., elements of the Avars (or perhaps the Hephthalites, whose tribal union was composed of kindred Uar-Hun tribes) migrated westward and entered the Volga-Pontic steppe zone after 557 A.D. where they subjugated some of the Oghur tribes. Avar dominion in this region was short-lived, for they were soon forced to migrate, together with some of their Oghur subjects, to Pannonia (ca. 567 A.D.), by the advent of their enemies, the Türks.

Although there are indications in Armenian sources (see *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Daskhurants'i*, tr. C. J. F. Dowsett, Oxford 1961, 70) and Arab sources (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, 194; al-Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i, 200-4) that would appear to give evidence of a Khazar presence in the Volga delta and in the Caucasus prior to the middle of the 6th century (see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 20-22, and M. I. Artamonov *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad 1962, 116-7, for an evaluation of these sources. The Khazars have nothing to do with the *Akatzi*/*Akatir*, *Khotzi* etc. who figure in Byzantine and Syriac sources during this period, see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, Berkeley 1973, 427 ff.); it is only under the aegis of the Türks that the Khazar tribal confederation (most probably an amalgamation, by this time, of Hunnic, Sabir, Oghur, Türk and other nomadic, Altaic elements) fully emerges on to the historical scene. It cannot be determined, at present, whether a tribe named "Khazar" actually existed prior to the conquest and organisation of the Volga-North Caucasian-Pontic steppe nomads by the Türks. It may well be that the Khazar tribal union was a creation of the Türks and the name of this new tribal grouping was then anachronistically ascribed, by our early sources via local, oral historical tradition, to those earlier tribes which ultimately came to compose it. In many of our early accounts, the ethnonyms *Khazar* and *Türk* are interchangeable. In any event, it is under Türk leadership (the *Djidebu Khak'an* of Movsēs Daskhurants'i, the *Djibgha* of the *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, Ζεβηλ of the Byzantine writers, perhaps to be identified with the *T'ong Yabghu* of the Western Türks, see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 394, 498) that the Khazars figure prominently in the Perso-Byzantine wars of the first third of the 7th century. The Khazars, acting as allies of Byzantium, relieved the Sāsānid pressure on Heraclius (610-41) by devastating Persian holdings in Transcaucasia. In 626, the *Djabghu Kaghan* and his nephew, the *Shad* (Shat' in the Armenian sources) ravaged Caucasian Albania and in the following year turned on Georgia whose capital, T'bilisi, fell to them in 628 (Daskhurants'i, tr. Dowsett, 81-8, *K'art'lis Ts'khovreba*, ed. S. Kaŭkhč'i, T'bilisi 1955, i, 225, 374-5). The Khazar-Byzantine alliance cemented during these wars remained, although subject to occasional buffetings, the cornerstone of the Byzantine defence network against the nomads of the Eurasian steppes until the 10th century.

Türk overlordship in the western half of their

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Gates is further confirmed by Strabo (2.12.4), who states that they extended toward the east bordering on Aria (eastern Afghanistan). Eustathnis (p. 393) calls the Gates "the keys to the earth of Asia," a description that reflects the importance of the trade route to central Asia, which traversed the pass. A form of the ancient name of the pass was known to the early Islamic geographers Ebn Kordābeh and Qodāma, who identify a post-station at the western approach as Kāsb, Iranian Kāsp (see Herzfeld, p. 195).

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(JOHN H. HANSMAN)

CASPIANS (Gk. Káspioi), name of an ancient people dwelling along the southwestern shore of the Caspian Sea, whether north or south of the river Kura is not clear. The name is not attested in Old Iranian (it may have been *Kāspiya- or the like); it survives perhaps in the name of Qazvīn (<*Kaspēn "the Caspian"?), which lies at the junction of several roads leading into the region through the most easily negotiable pass across the Alborz mountains. The Caspian Sea (*hē Kaspīā thálassa*); the Caspian mountain(s) (*tā Káspia ōrē*, i.e. the Caucasus; Eratosthenes apud Strabo, 11.2.15); and the so-called Caspian Gates (*hai Káspiai/Kaspiādes pýlai*; q.v.) were all named after this people.

The Caspians have generally been regarded as a pre-Indo-European, that is, a pre-Iranian, people and have even been identified by some scholars with the Kassites (e.g., Herzfeld, loc. cit.). Onomastic evidence bearing on this point has now been discovered in Aramaic papyri from Egypt, in which several Caspians (Aram. *kspy*) are mentioned as belonging to the garrison there; their names, for example, **Bagazušta* (see Grelot, pp. 101ff.), are, at least in part, unequivocally Iranian. The Caspians must therefore be considered either an Iranian people or strongly under Iranian cultural influence.

Herodotus, Strabo, and other classical authors repeatedly mention the Caspians but do not seem to know much about them; they are grouped with other inhabitants of the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, like the Amardi, Anariacae, Cadusii (q.v.), Albani, and Vitii (Eratosthenes apud Strabo, 11.8.8), and their land (Káspianē) is said to be part of Albania (Theophanes Mytilenaeus apud Strabo, 11.4.5). Whether or not they belonged to the Median empire is not clear. According to Herodotus (3.92.2), they, together with the Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Daritae, were included in the eleventh *nomós* of the Achaemenid empire under Darius I. This region later was attached to Media Atropatene and Albania in turn.

Herodotus (3.93.2) mentions another people with

the same name, who, together with the Sacae (Sakai) inhabited the fifteenth *nomós*; these Káspioi, who were among the participants in Xerxes' army (Herodotus, 7.67.1; 86.1[2]), are sometimes considered to have been located in the Pamirs or in what is now Kashmir and were perhaps the forerunners of the present-day Nuristanis (for another possible location, see Cook, p. 196). There are, however, serious doubts about the correctness of Herodotus' text; among the emendations proposed are *Kápisoi and Kaspeíroi.

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(RÜDIGER SCHMITT)

CASSANDANE, wife of Cyrus II (q.v.), an Achaemenian, sister of Otanes and daughter of Pharnaspes. She bore four children: Cambyses II (q.v.), Smerdis (see BARDIYA), Atossa (q.v.), and an unnamed daughter (see Herodotus, 2.1; 3.2, 3). According to Herodotus (2.1), Cyrus loved her dearly and, when she died, ordered all the subjects of his empire to observe "a great mourning." There is a report in the chronicle of Nabonidus that, when "the king's wife died," there was public mourning in Babylonia lasting from 27 Adar to 3 Nisan, that is, 21-26 March 538 (III.23; Grayson, p. 111); very probably it was the death of Cassandane that was being mourned. M. Boyce has suggested that she was buried in the tower called Zendān-e Solaymān at Pasargadae.

Bibliography: M. Boyce, "A Tomb for Cassandane," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata*, Acta Iranica 23, Leiden, 1984, pp. 67-71. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley, New York, 1975.

(MUHAMMAD DANDAMAYEV)

CASSIA, a genus of shrubs and trees of the family Leguminosae (or Caesalpiniaceae in some classifications). This article deals only with the fruit of the species *C. fistula* L. (= *Cathartocarpus fistula* Pers.), variously called drumstick tree, Indian laburnum, purging cassia, etc.

The fruit of this tree (also called cassia fistula) is a long (30-60 cm) cylindrical pod (2-3 cm in diameter) with a blackish brown pericarp, internally divided into numerous compartments (25-100) by thin woody transverse partitions (in Arabic, called *foliūs*, plur. of *fals* "fish scale, disc"). Each compartment contains a soft black viscid pulp with a mawkish sweet taste and enclosing a single seed (Dymock et al., I, pp. 511-15; Zargari, II, pp. 111-13). The principal part used medicinally is the pulp.

The elongated pod is called *kīār-sanbar* in classical medico-pharmacological Arabic texts of the Islamic period—a name arabicized from Persian *kīār(-e) sanbar*, lit. "hoop[like] cucumber," which originally

oberhauptes im Mittleren Reich, ebenso wie in der Person des im erwähnten Vertrag aus der Ptolemäerzeit vorkommenden, bereits in Ägypten geborenen Blemmyers. Im Rechtsstreit der Priester aus Teudaj ist der zur Vorführung der angeklagten Personen ausgesandte Uahibremerire auf Grund der angegebenen Motive vermutlich ein Polizist blemmyscher Herkunft, dessen ägyptischer Name, — genau so wie der des erwähnten Medau-Stammesoberhauptes, mit dem Attribut wḥ-jb »befreundet« gebildet — davon zeugt, dass die Nubier noch am Anfang der Perserzeit in den erwähnten Berufen in Ägypten angestellt wurden.

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Acta Orientalia, c. XII/1-3

S. 299-307, 1967-Budapest.

-Hajet/07

KHAZARIAN CULTURE AND ITS INHERITORS

BY

ANANIASZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI (Warszawa)

Available sources reveal the Khazars as a people that had not entirely got rid of their nomadic peculiarities but had adopted a half-settled way of life. It was, thus, *seminomadism*, characteristic of many Turkish (Turkic) peoples in the transitory period of their history.

In a work by Ibn Rusta, an Arabic geographer, we find evidence of Khazarian periodic nomadism, i. e. according to the seasons. The author of *Kitāb al-a'lāk an-nafisa* says: In winter the whole Khazarian population lives in towns, and when spring comes they move out from towns to the steppes and remain there till winter. Cf. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= BGA), ed. de Goeje, VII, p. 139—40:

و مقام اهلها في الشتاء في هاتين المدينتين فاذا كان ايام الربيع خرجوا الى الصحارى فلم يزالوا بها الى اقبال الشتاء.

The information given by the so-called "*Khazarian correspondence*" in Hebrew corroborate this fact. "We live the whole winter in town, and in the month of Nisan (end of March, April) we go out, each to his field. With the end of the month of Kislev (November—December) we come back to town".¹

In the works of Muslim authors we find descriptions of the Khazarian towns. Samandar possesses many orchards, and there are about 40 000 vineyards in the neighbourhood. The population of the town consists of Muslims and others: there are mosques, churches, temples sc. *kanisa* (a non-Muslim temple).² The town of Itil is surrounded by a wall; it consists of two sections, divided by the river Itil (the Volga). There are markets and steam-baths in

¹ Cf. P. K. Kokovtsov, *Еврейско-хазарская переписка в X-ом веке*. Academy of Sciences U.S.S.R. (Leningrad 1932), p. 85.

² Cf. article by C. van Arendonk, »*Kanisa*«: *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden 1941, p. 266—7): »Im Arabischen bezeichnet *kanisa* sowohl das christliche wie das jüdische Bethaus... In der älteren Literatur findet sich k. öfters im Sinne von »Kirche«. Cf. T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Kraków 1929, p. 216: »*Kéhesa*, ar. *kanisa*, karaimischer Tempel«.

العرب والخزر في عهد الخلفاء الراشدين والدولة الاموية

Hazarlar

الدكتور حسين علي الداقوقي
كلية التربية - جامعة بغداد

دولة الخزر هي اولى دولة قوية ومنظمة لعبت دورا سياسيا وعسكريا وتجاريا في تاريخ شرقى اوربا^(١) وهي واحدة من الدول التى لعبت دورا بارزا في العصور الوسطى بين القرنين السادس ومن العاشر الميلاديين كانت عاصمة الخزر إتل (علي وزن ابل) أو ايتيل أوائل ، قرب شمالى مدينة استرخان الحالية في حوض الفولغا الاسفل حيث تلتقى الطرق التجارية الكبيرة ، وتنساب في تلك المنطقة اربعة انهر : الفولغا ويبيك ودون وكوبان واذا القينا نظره على خريطة الحكم الخزرى نجد ان لهم امبراطوريه تمتد خلال القرن السابع من بحر آزوف الي بحر قزوين ، ومن القفقاس الي نهري الفولغا ودون^(٢) . وهي بلاد شاسعة كثيرة المشاهد ، فيها جبال ووديان وفيها بحار وخلجان . «يتصل من احدي جنباتها جبل عظيم يمر الي بلاد تفليس او حدود آرمينيا»^(٣) وبلغت حدودها من بعض جهاتها الي منطقه خوارزم ، ومن جهة اخري وصلت حدودها الجنوبيه الي دربين (باب الابواب)^(٤) .

وما قام به فرننجه شارك مارشل في اقصى غربى اوربا ضد القوات العربية الزاحفة عبر البرانس على فرنسا (١١٤هـ/٧٣٢م)^(٥) .

لقد كانت جبهة الخزر معقدة ومتداخلة وصعبة التضاريس ، فعلى الرغم من الانتصارات التى حققها العرب وصلوا الي العاصمة الخزرية على نهر الفولغا واخفوها الي اداريهم ، كما سوف نرى الا ان المنطقة كانت تعود وتتسلط ، وتتحدى اطرافها من جديد ومن ثم اتخذت الحروب العربية الاسلامية في هذا الجزء من العالم احيانا طابع الحرب الوقائية والتأديبية .

لا شيء يحير الباحثين الاوربيين بقدر ما يتحرم الفتوحات العربية الاسلامية متحيرهم بواعثها وسرعة اندفاعها واتساع رقعتها^(٦) ، ومن هؤلاء الاوربيين البروفسور كوسكي الذى يشك في سرعة الوثيقة العربية الاسلامية عام ٢٢هـ وتدقق العرب بتلك الحملة الي ما وراء القفقاس^(٧) في عام ٢٢ هـ/٦٤٣م تقدمت القوات العربية نحو مدينة باب الابواب (دريد) بقيادة سراقه بن عمرو ، وبصحبه شخصيات عربية مهمة امثال عبدالرحمن بن ربيعة الباهي ، وسلمان بن ربيعة ، وحذيفة بن اسيد الغفاري وغيرهم^(٨) وجرت مفاوضات بين قائد الجيش عبدالرحمن بن ربيعة وبين ملك الباب يومئذ شهر براز اسفرت عن عقد مفاهيم بين الطرفين

اما ما يتعلق باصلهم فقد وردت حوله اراء كثيرة ومتنوعة احيانا ، غير ان معظم المباحثين الحديثين يرجعونهم الي الاتراك الغربيين المختلطين بالهون وبالسلالات الفنيه - الاوغريه^(٩) .

للعلاقات بين العرب والخزر تاريخ طويل امتد عبر العصور ، ذلك بعدما توسع الفتح الاسلامي في انحاء ايران وعندما اخذ اولا الصحراء الشجعان يجتازون ما يعترضهم من الحواجز ، صحارى كانت ام جبال ، صاروا لا يتوانون ابدا في اقتحام جبال القفقاس الشاهقة الوعرة المسالك والدخول عندها في معارك طاحنة مع الخزر .

صرف البيزنطيون ما وسعهم من جهود للتعرف الى الخزر واكتساب صداقتهم لان المقاومة الخزرية امام العرب كانت تحمل اهمية كبيرة بالنسبة لبيزنطية التى كانت تعاني المخاطر من الجانب الغربى والاكثر من ذلك يرى عدد من المؤرخين ان الحروب الخزرية العربية صرفت العرب عن فتح اوربا الشرقية فقد وجد العرب انفسهم على خط القفقاس امام جيوش منظمة وفتية قدر لها ان تعوق تقدمهم الى حد ما نحو شرقى اوربا ، لذلك يحملوا لهؤلاء المؤرخين ولغيرهم اضعاف اهمية كبيرة على هذه الحروب والمقارنة بين ما قام به الخزر في شرقى اوربا

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rebellion of al-Basāsīrī forced the Khaṭīb to flee to Damascus for eight years.

The Khaṭīb's great reputation as a scholar in the religious sciences is acknowledged by his various biographers, who credit him with having written at least eighty-one works. A number of these works are preserved, including his greatest contribution to Islamic learning, *Taʿrīkh Baghdad* (History of Baghdad). According to the medieval biographer Ibn Khallikān, "Had he written nothing but this history, it would have been sufficient for his reputation." The printed edition of this work consists of fourteen volumes of more than 7,800 biographical entries arranged alphabetically, although this system was not consistently applied. The earliest collections of biographical information were according to chronological layers (*tabaqah*). Each layer signified a generation, although there was no agreement as to the number of years in a generation. In the tenth century, theologically oriented local histories had a wide geographical distribution; besides increasing the number of biographical entries, some of these works abandoned the chronological division for an alphabetical arrangement. The obvious advantage to the new arrangement was that it made for an easier system of reference, requiring only the full name and not the details of the subject's life. Unlike secular local histories, these works were conceived of as handbooks for scholars of the religious sciences, in particular the students at the various local centers of theological learning.

The Khaṭīb's history is, however, more than a dictionary of scholars. The biographical sections are preceded by a detailed introduction that deals with the topography and toponymy of Baghdad. The juxtaposed accounts of topography and history form perhaps the most important source on the physical arrangement of the city and its pattern of growth. There were other attempts at describing the physical arrangement of Baghdad, but from what must have been a fairly substantial body of literature only a few texts and many scattered fragments remain. Because the Khaṭīb prefaced his accounts with a chain of authorities, it is possible to glimpse the works of authors whose accounts are otherwise known only by title.

Given its great reputation, the work of the Khaṭīb was never displaced by later research. It was, however, slavishly copied and brought up to date by a series of supplements (*dhayl*) also employing the alphabetical arrangement. Each succeeding generation thus added its list of representative scholars.

KHAZARS

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JACOB LASSNER

[See also Biography, Islamic.]

KHAWADA NAMEH. See Xwaday Namag.

KHAZARS. The name "Khazar" is attested in Chinese, Iranian, Armenian, and Syriac sources long before the establishment of the Khazar empire (the kaganate) in the 650's. The name, of Altaic origin, first occurs with the attribute *ak* (or *aq*) (white or western)—*Akkachir* > *Akatsir*—as a part of the fifth-century empire of Attila. The Khazar realm was one of the Eurasian nomadic steppe empires (*paces*, from *pax*, the Latin word for peace and dominion), in which a confederation of military charismatic clans (*Männerbünde*) and international merchants ruled over the nomadic tribes of the steppe and the sedentary populations in the oases and rural areas.

During the Byzantine-Sasanian struggle for hegemony in the first decades of the seventh century, the Western Turkic kagan T'ong Jabghu supported Heraklios I. In the middle of the century, when the Chinese destroyed the Western Turkic empire, the son of T'ong Jabghu established himself in what is now Daghestan (in the fifth century it was the territory of the Khachirs, called Khazars by the Turks), thereby founding the Khazar kaganate. The ruling Turkic clans in the Khazar realm were the Old Turkic imperial dynasty A-shin-na (< *achina*, white wolf), and the influential tribes of the dynasty of the Kagans/Kabars. The leading mercantile tribe was the Iranian *Varāz/Varāč* (Khazar form: *Barč/Bolč*); the latter was also the dynasty of the "kings" or majordomos. A member of that dynasty was King Joseph, who corresponded with the Spanish Jewish leader Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut (ca. 960).

The 300-year history of the Khazar empire is presented here as divided into eight periods. During the first two periods (650–685, 685–720) its government, situated in Daghestan (with Semender and Belendjer

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سده دوم میلادی یاد کرده، اما دانلپ (ص ۸-۹) این نظر را به سبب نداشتن سند تاریخی رد کرده است. کستلر (ص ۲۷) به نقل از پریسکوس^۵، مورخ روم شرقی سده پنجم میلادی، خزرها را از جمله اقوام تابع هونها و متحد آنها در برابر روم شرقی دانسته است. او (ص ۲۶) همچنین با استناد به مطالب زکریا رهور^۶، تاریخ نگار سریانی سده ششم میلادی، از حضور خزرها در این زمان یاد کرده است.

خزرها در اواسط قرن ششم میلادی به تابعیت جانشینان هونها، خاقانات بزرگ ترک (تورکوت^۷ ها، گوک تورک^۸ ها - د. اسلام، چاپ دوم، ج ۴، ص ۱۱۷۲)، درآمدند. در سال ۶۳۰/۹، تورکوتها به دو حکومت ترکان غربی و ترکان شرقی تقسیم شدند و منطقه خزرها در قلمرو ترکان غربی قرار گرفت. حکومت ترکان غربی در سال ۶۵۰/۲۹ بر اثر حملات مسلمانان از یک سو و مهاجمان چینی از سوی دیگر فروپاشید. خزرها در دوره حکومت ترکان غربی، حفاظت از مسیر بازرگانی ماوراءالنهر به ولگا را عهده دار بودند و امنیت این مسیر را در مقابل بلغارها و غزها تأمین می کردند (گومیلیف، ۱۳۸۲ ش، ص ۸۸-۸۹، ۱۴۱). با سقوط ترکان غربی در اوایل سده اول / نیمه سده هفتم، خزرها به دولتی قدرتمند بدل شدند. آنان که خود را وارث حقیقی ترکان غربی می دانستند، عنوان آنها یعنی خاقان را برگزیدند (همان، ص ۸۸-۸۹، ۱۴۰-۱۴۵). خزرها با دو حکومت قدرتمند روم شرقی و ساسانیان همسایه بودند و روابطی طولانی و مستمر داشتند. آنان قدرتی مهم و تأثیرگذار در دوره خود بودند، به گونه ای که از سه کرسی زرینی که در دربار خسرو انوشیروان وجود داشت، یکی متعلق به خاقان خزر بود (ابن بلخی، ص ۹۷). همچنین در سده چهارم، مهر طلایی که امپراتوران روم شرقی نامه های خاقان خزر را با آن مسمور می کردند، ارزشی به مراتب بیشتر از مهری داشت که برای پاپ رم یا جانشینان شارلمانی به کار می بردند. وجود دشمنان مشترک خزرها و امپراتوری روم شرقی، یعنی ساسانیان و سپس مسلمانان از یک سو، و پاره ای حکومت های محلی نظیر بلغارها از سوی دیگر، به طور طبیعی موجب اتحاد خزرها و روم شرقی شد (دانلپ، ص IX). در لشکرکشی یولیانوس^۹، امپراتور روم شرقی، در برابر شاپور دوم (حک: ۳۷۹-۳۱۰ میلادی) خزرها بخش زیادی از سپاه او را تشکیل می دادند (طبری، ج ۲، ص ۵۸).

در ۶۲۵ میلادی هراکلیتوس^{۱۰}، امپراتور روم شرقی، سفیری به نام آندری^{۱۱} را نزد خاقان خزر فرستاد و برای مقابله با ساسانیان از وی کمک طلبید. جیو (یبغو) خاقان، هزار سوار به

داخل جزیره الاندلس من الزهاد والابرار، که ناتمام ماند و فرزندش ابوعبدالله آن را تکمیل کرد؛ و شرح کتاب حدیثی شهاب الاخبار ابوعبدالله محمد قضاعی، مفسر و فقیه شافعی (ابن خطیب، همانجا؛ بغدادی، ج ۱، ستون ۸۶).

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/ سعید عدالت نژاد /

خزرها، قبایلی نیمه کوچ نشین با منشأ احتمالاً ترکی و پیرو آیین یهود، ساکن مناطق میان دریند تا ساحل ولگا. آنان از ۳۰ تا ۳۵۴ حکومت قدرتمندی (خاقانات) تشکیل دادند که بر مناطقی وسیع از جنوب روسیه، کریمه، مشرق اوکراین، بخش اعظمی از قفقاز و سواحل غربی و شمال غربی دریای خزر حکومت می کرد. آنها را به ترکی سبیر، به فارسی خزران و به عربی الخزر می نامیدند. خزرها در منابع چینی دوران باستان دولگاس (ترک نژاد) خوانده شده اند (← مسعودی، التنبیه، ص ۸۳؛ گومیلیف^۱، ۱۹۹۹، ص ۲۰۰).

دریاره مفهوم واژه خزر نظر واحدی وجود ندارد. برخی آن را به معنای صحراگرد یا کوچ نشین و برگرفته از ریشه ترکی گز (گردیدن، گردش کردن) دانسته اند و برخی دیگر واژه مجاری هوسار و روسی قزاق، به معنای سواره نظام، را مشتق از کلمه خزر ذکر کرده اند (← دانلپ^۲، ص ۳؛ کستلر^۳، ص ۲۶). خزرها را همچون دیگر ترکان از نسل یافث بن نوح دانسته اند، اما شباهتی به ترکان ندارند. گروهی از ایشان با موهای سیاه قراخزر نام گرفته اند و دسته دیگر، پستوی روشن و سفید دارند (← یعقوبی، ج ۱، ص ۲۰؛ مسعودی، مروج، ج ۱، ص ۱۵۴؛ اصطخری، ص ۲۲۳؛ ابن حوقل، ص ۳۹۴).

پیشینه. زمان دقیق مهاجرت خزران به شمال قفقاز روشن نیست. موسی خورنی^۴ (ص ۱۴۸-۱۴۹) از حضور خزرها در

resolution in the collapse of 1914, so did the Indian structure of paramountcy and indirect rule climax in the years after the First World War. For India's "Native States", the lights began to go out all over the subcontinent in the aftermath of the First World War, even though neither the maharajas nor the British noticed. The events of 1947 — as well as the actions of Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1967 and 1970 — appear in this context slightly anti-climactic.

Journal of Asian History, c.24/1

S. 57-69, 1990 (XIESBADEN)

- Hazarlar

24 MAYIS 1991

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THE TOQUZ OGHUZ PROBLEM AND THE ORIGIN OF THE KHAZARS

In recent years two, previously unknown, Uighur runiform inscriptions have been published. They are those of Terkhin and Tes, engraved not long after the foundation of the Uighur Empire in 744.¹ It is beyond doubt that they will contribute to our knowledge of the early history of the Uighurs, but it is also clear that further research is required to clarify issues raised by these inscriptions.

We will focus our attention to the letter-group *qsr*, that appears once in the Terkhin and twice in the Tes inscription and, according to the unanimous opinion of all who dealt with the matter, should be read *qasar*.² The word appears also in the Shine-usu inscription published by Ramstedt. Although sometimes it has been interpreted differently, in the light of the two Uighur inscriptions it becomes clear that, there too, the correct reading must be *qasar*.³ Thus, in the three Uighur inscriptions the word *qasar* appears four times in all, unfortunately always in fragmentary contexts. Not only the lines in which *qasar* appears have been interpreted in various ways, there is no consensus either on the order in which the lines follow. It is interesting to note that most of those who dealt with the inscriptions regard *qasar* as an ethnonym, though

1 The texts of the two inscriptions have been published several times, see above all Klyashtorny 1982 and 1985. First drafts of these articles appeared originally in *Sovetskaja Turkologija* 1980, No. 3, pp. 82–95, and 1983, No. 6, pp. 76–90.

2 Klyashtorny 1982, pp. 342, 345; 1985, pp. 152–154; Czeglédy 1981, pp. 461–462; Bazin 1981–1982, pp. 58–59; Róna-Tas 1982, p. 366, and 1983, pp. 127, 129; Tekin 1983, pp. 46, 48 and 1988, pp. 117–118; Ligeti 1986, pp. 337, 353–355.

3 Ramstedt 1913–1918, pp. 22–23, 53; Klyashtorny 1982, pp. 339–340; Bazin 1981–1982, pp. 54, 59–60; Róna-Tas 1982, p. 366 and 1983, p. 127.

A NEW BOOK ON THE KHAZARS

by

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Dr. D. M. Dunlop's book, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton University Press, 1954, XV + 293 pp.¹) is a welcome accession to our stock of knowledge on the Khazars. The author admits (p. XI) that "there is little new in the way of sources" used in the book, and in fact the last discovery in this field seems to be that of the so-called "Cambridge document" found by Dr. Schechter in 1912. The book, however, gives a very careful and critical survey of the existing literature and contains a useful outline of the problems connected with the history of the still mysterious people.

The addition of "Jewish" to the title of the book, as a reviewer (*BSOAS*, 1955, XVII/3, 619) has remarked, seems to be due to some practical consideration on the part of the publishers. The propagation of Judaism among the Khazars had but a restricted scope and concerned only the top of the social pyramid, while the majority of the people must have stuck to the old nomad practices, and in general the Khazars showed great tolerance towards the different religions and races established among them. One third of Dr. Dunlop's book (pp. 89-170) is devoted to the controversy about the time of and reasons for the conversion, but the author pays due attention to the general history of the Khazars. In recent times several scholars have taken up a similar task but their efforts have not been crowned with complete success. In 1922 J.N. Simchowitsch presented to the University of Berlin a thesis under the title *Studien zu den Berichten arabischen Historiker über die Chazaren* (down to Hārūn al-Rashīd's time) which has not seen the light in printed form and is known only through a review by M. Palló in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1922, II, 157-60. M. Kmoskó² published two articles in *K. Csoma*

¹ By way of preparation for this book the author had published 'Aspects of the Khazar problem' in *Glasgow University Oriental series*, 1951, XII, 33-44. Cf. also his review of A. Z. V. Togan's *Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Die Welt des Orients*, pp. 307-12.

² On his Nachlass see now K. Czeglédy in *Acta Orient. Hung.*, 1955 IV/1-3, pp. 19-90